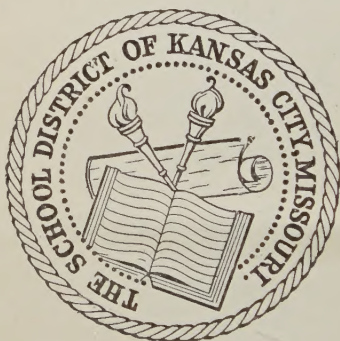


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BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

A JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

AND

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE,

CONDUCTED BY AN ASSOCIATION OF
GENTLEMEN.



VOL. V.]

NEW SERIES,

VOL. I.



PRINCETON, NEW-JERSEY.

HUGH MADDEN, PRINTER.



1829.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

At the beginning of the next year, this work will appear under the title of BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, and may thenceforward be considered as embracing in its plan the whole range of theological and religious subjects. The work is now, and will continue under the direction of an association of gentlemen, who have received pledges of aid from distinguished writers in various parts of the Union. It will be published, as heretofore, at Princeton, quarterly; but on a new type, and will contain a greater amount of matter. It is expected that a permanent arrangement will be shortly made with a gentleman of high qualifications, who will devote his whole time to the superintendence of the work. The design of this Journal, and its claims upon public patronage, may be gathered from the following circular letter, issued at Philadelphia, during the sessions of the last General Assembly:

DEAR SIR,

The undersigned most earnestly ask your serious attention to the subject of the following communication.

The influence of the press has never yet been fully appreciated. It is the power which forms and controls public sentiment, and governs the government. This power, however, is chiefly attributable to the periodical press. It is felt in this form in every department of human life. Experience shows that it admits of as easy an application to religion, as to any of the affairs of this world. It is undeniable that a man's doctrinal opinions and his course of action are, in a great degree, regulated and determined by the periodical publications which he is accustomed to read.

It is, therefore, justly a matter both of surprize and regret, that while wealth and talent of high order are enlisted to establish and support political and literary periodicals, many of which are unfavourable to the cause of religion, the church should, to a great extent, neglect this instrumentality. Already have many important advantages been lost by this strange and inexcusable inattention. Greater evils will ensue—evils the magnitude of which no man can measure—unless the friends of true religion can be awakened from

their apathy, and brought to put forth efforts corresponding to the importance and urgency of the case.

It is true indeed, that at present, a number of respectable weekly and monthly publications are in limited circulation, and exert a valuable influence on the cause of Christian benevolence. They are, however, chiefly vehicles of intelligence, or repositories of brief, and therefore often unsatisfactory discussions of doctrinal and critical subjects. There is, then, a place, and an urgent call, for periodicals of a higher character and a wider range of subjects.

Several years ago, the Professor of Biblical Literature, in the Seminary at Princeton, undertook to publish a quarterly journal (the *Biblical Repertory*,) the exclusive object of which was to assist ministers and candidates in the criticism and interpretation of the Bible. Experience, however, has shown, that the time has not yet arrived, when a work of this kind can be adequately supported in our country. It was therefore thought expedient, at the beginning of the present year, to make a change in the character of this publication. It is intended hereafter, to conduct it according to the following plan.

1. The original design of the work, instead of being wholly laid aside, is to be so modified, as to adapt it to the use and benefit of all intelligent Christians. The Bible is the only source of authentic information on the doctrines and duties of Christianity. The Bible is about to be placed in every family in the nation. The right of private judgment, in this free country, is unequivocally admitted. It is therefore of the utmost importance to afford to the people, every possible facility for a right understanding of the divine oracles. To accomplish this is to be one of the primary objects of the *Biblical Repertory*, in its present form.

2. Philosophy and literature in every age have exerted a powerful influence on religious sentiment and doctrine. This will be the case until the Bible shall have established a complete and universal supremacy, and men shall have learned to submit without reserve to Scripture, fairly interpreted. This work, then in accomplishing its great purpose, of assisting in forming right opinions on the meaning of the Bible, must bring under strict and impartial review, the philosophy and literature of the time ; and show their influence, whether for good or evil, on biblical interpretation, systematic theology, and practical religion. In doing this, it will

be necessary to detect and expose the error, common in every age, of founding religious doctrines on insulated passages, and partial views of bible-truth ; or forcing the Scriptures to a meaning which shall accord with philosophical theories.

3. The circumstances belonging to every age produce a tendency to some particular form of error, so as to make it the epidemic of the period. At one time men are disposed to be satisfied with a heartless and inactive orthodoxy. At another, religious action is represented as every thing, and its stimulus is substituted for those deep inward feelings which mark the character of thorough piety. It will be the business of this Journal carefully to notice, and faithfully to exhibit dangers of this kind.

4. The history of religious doctrine and opinion will be given in the progress of the work as far as the nature of the case will admit ; the revival of old and exploded doctrines will be noticed ; and their effects on vital religion as clearly as possible exhibited.

5. The influence of different principles of ecclesiastical polity on piety, morals, literature, and civil institutions will form a subject for careful consideration.

6. It will be left for the monthly and weekly publications to communicate religious intelligence : but at the same time, the various enterprizes of Christian benevolence will be observed with the deepest attention and interest, and sustained with all the zeal and talent which can be brought to aid the mighty cause. Especially the vast and growing importance of Sabbath Schools will be duly appreciated. The books employed in them will be strictly examined ; and it will be reckoned a more valuable service to lend efficient aid in securing to these publications a suitable character, than to control, if that were possible, the literature and philosophy of the whole nation.

7. Such attention, however, as the limits of the work will permit, will be bestowed on the important interests of general knowledge ; and select literary information will be given with every number.

8. The work is not designed to be controversial in its character, but to state temperately and mildly, yet firmly and fearlessly, Bible truth in its whole extent.

9. As soon as circumstances will admit, a suitable editor will be procured, who will give his entire time, labour and

talents to the work. In the meanwhile it will be conducted by the present editors, with the assistance of a number of able writers, who are pledged to contribute regularly to its pages.

Along with this letter you will receive a Prospectus ; and this detail of particulars is given for your own private use ; that you may be enabled to explain fully the nature and design of the publication.

And now, dear sir, will you not look through the country in the length and breadth thereof—will you not consider the power of that instrumentality which the press affords—and resolve to do your *very best* in promoting the circulation of this Journal ? As a patriot, will you not endeavour, by diffusing principles of sound knowledge and true virtue, to preserve the institutions of our country, and render them perpetual ? And, as a Christian, will you not favour a plan, the design of which is to exhibit the truths, and enforce the precepts of the Bible ; to assist in putting down error ; and promoting that charity which delights to save a soul from death ?

It is certain that an enterprize, such as that here proposed, cannot be supported unless the members, and especially the ministers of the church, will resolve at once to sustain and bear it onward.

ASHBEL GREEN,
SAMUEL MILLER,
ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER,
JOHN H. RICE,
EZRA FISK,
EZRA STILES ELY,
FRANCIS HERRON,
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WILLIAM NEVINS,
JOSEPH SANFORD,
THOMAS I. BIGGS,
SAMUEL L. GRAHAM,
LUTHER HALSEY.

Philadelphia, May, 21st, 1829.

TERMS.

The Biblical Repertory & Theological Review is published quarterly, at Three Dollars per annum, if paid within the first six months ; or Four Dollars if the payment be longer deferred. Each number will contain at least 150 pages.

All communications to be addressed to "the Editors of the Biblical Repertory and Theological Review," Princeton New-Jersey.

FLATT'S DISSERTATION

ON

The Deity of Christ.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN.

FLATT'S DISSERTATION
ON THE
DEITY OF CHRIST.

THE doctrine of the deity of Christ, as revealed in the word of God, is a mystery so high and transcendent in its nature, that we can scarcely wonder at the almost infinite diversity of sentiment existing in relation to it. But neither the abstruseness of the subject in itself, nor the discrepancy of men's notions with respect to it, is sufficient to justify us in declining the investigation as desperate and useless, or in rashly setting down all hypothesis and theories as equally fallacious. Those who take the former course, and withhold their attention from the subject altogether, would do well to consider the presumption and ingratitude of wilfully remaining ignorant of that which God would have them know; and at the same time, to bear in mind, that, in propounding these obscure and mystic doctrines, one design of the Almighty, no doubt, was, to teach men experimentally the limits of their intellectual capacity, and the utter inadequacy of the human faculties, to grasp, in their whole extent, the invisible things of God.

As to those, who are so bewildered in the mazes of conflicting and confused polemics, that they cannot, or dare not, choose any definite opinion from among the many which have been proposed, I shall only say, that they must either be extremely inexpert in measuring the relative force of difficulties and objections; or else so unreasonably rigorous in estimating evidence, as to reject all proof that is short of demonstration. Let such consider, that when called upon to

form an opinion upon any doubtful and contested subject, they are not expected to produce a theory encumbered with no difficulties, but merely to give the preference to that which is encumbered with the least ; and which harmonizes best, not with a few detached expressions of the word of God, but with the whole tenor and spirit of the scriptures.

That no theory, which has ever been promulgated respecting the divinity of Christ, so well merits this description, as the doctrine of our church set forth in her confessions, it is my design to prove : in the prosecution of which object my method shall be this ; to show, in the first place, that the doctrine in question, has more evidence, positively in its favor, than all others—and secondly, that it is open to less serious objection.

SECTION I.

Containing an exposition and defence of the scriptural arguments for the divinity of Christ.

An essential preliminary to my argument is a distinct exposition of the doctrine, which I undertake to prove. This of course, requires not merely an acquaintance with the form in which it is propounded, but an accurate idea of the genuine import of the expressions used. To this point, therefore, I shall first address myself. I would remark, then, that there are two phrases, which the church has borrowed from the Fathers, and employed for the purpose of expressing briefly the sum and substance of its doctrine with respect to the deity of Christ. The first is, that the Son of God is *ομοσιος*, or *consubstantial* with the Father ; the second, that the Father and the Son are distinct *υποστασεις* or *persons*. As both the Greek terms here employed are somewhat ambiguous and obscure, it becomes a question of essential moment, what they do in themselves legitimately signify, and in what sense they are adopted by the church.

As to the word *ομοσιος*, the first question which presents itself is this: does it, in its application to the Son of God, imply a *numerical identity of essence*, or does it merely intimate, that the Father and the Son are *the same κατ' εσιν* that is to say, are specifically alike, having so far a common nature as to be reducible to the same species? There can be no doubt, that the latter sense is fully authorized both by the classics and the Fathers.* Dionysius Alexandrinus, for example, says, that Christ, considered as a man, is *ομοσιος ημιν*,† and the same expression is employed, in a sense evidently similar, in the formula prescribed by the council of Chalcedon. Nay, it might easily be proved, that the word was not understood as denoting *numerical identity of essence* by the Nicene Fathers themselves, who introduced the expression into the language of the church.‡ Be that as it may, the fact is certain, that in later times, the term has been understood by Catholics to mean, that the *εσιν* of the Father and the Son is *numerically identical*, or one and the same; which opinion is adhered to by our own church, as appears expressly from the words of her confession.§

We shall find as little difficulty in determining the sense attached to the word *εσιν* by the church, when used in application to the Father and the Son. It is very true, that it has also a variety of meanings, and is used, in more than one, by the Fathers themselves.|| But at the same time, it is very

* See Doederlein's *Instit. Theol. Christ.* P. I. p. 376. not. c.

† Εἰ μὲν οὖν ΟΜΟΥΣΙΟΣ ἔστιν ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν εἴη γενεάν: ἔστω καὶ κατὰ τὸ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀλλοτριὸς κατ' εἰς τὰ πατέρα, (Ἀθηναῖος περὶ Διονυσίου.) See *Bibl. der Kirchen.* T. II. p. 380.

‡ See Fuchs' *Bibliothek der Kirchenversammlungen*, Vol. I. p. 386.

§ August. Conf. Art. I. Art. Smalcald. P. I. &c. The same conclusion may be drawn from the profession of faith made by the sect condemned, in form. Concord. XII. p. 329, &c. (Ed. Rechenb.)

|| See S. R. Doederlein. p. 373. obs. 3:—also, Fuchs' *Bib. Kirch.* P. I. p. 386. not. 33.

clear, that in the language of our church, it is always used to denote the *divine essence*; that is, either the *substance* or *nature* of God, generally, or in a more restricted sense, the aggregate of all those attributes, which Natural Theology ascribes to God, whether derived from the abstract idea of supreme perfection, or, by induction, from the works of nature; such as eternity, self-existence, omnipotence, &c. The following is the definition of the term, given in the Augustan Confession. "*There is one divine essence which is called God, and is God; eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, omnipotent, infinitely wise and good, the creator of all things visible, and invisible.*"*

It appears, then, that the first of the two formulas before recited, viz: *that the Son of God is ομοϋσιος, or consubstantial with the Father*, was intended by the church to signify, that the Father and the Son are partakers of one and the same infinite substance; and that the attributes by which the Father is distinguished from all finite things, as being an infinitely perfect spirit, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, are *numerically identical* with the attributes of the Son, (not merely *similar* or *equal*) and are common to both, without multiplication or division.

But though the divine essence, common to the Father and the Son, is thus numerically identical and *one*, the church, notwithstanding, teaches, that there is between them a real intrinsic difference; to express which difference, this formula is used—*The Father and the Son are two distinct persons*. This word person (προσωπον, υποστασις) is, in itself, no less vague and ambiguous than ομοϋσιος. Its meaning, however, may be readily discovered and precisely fixed, by referring to the object of the orthodox, in using the term

* Una est essentia divina, quæ appellatur et est Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator and conservator omnium rerum, visibilium et invisibilium. (*Augustan Confession*, Art. I.)

at all. For it is very clear that the early Catholics, as well as the modern Trinitarians of other churches, have uniformly introduced this word into their professions of belief for the purpose of drawing a more marked distinction between orthodoxy and Sabellianism; and of more effectually guarding the true church from that and other kindred heresies. We are not, therefore, to understand the phrase in question in the same sense as when we say of men, that *they are different persons*; for that would destroy the numerical unity of God. Nor on the other hand, is the hypothesis admissible, that the difference is merely *nominal* or *logical*—in other words, that *Father* and *Son* are different names for the same thing, or at most, serve only to distinguish different parts and affections, exterior relations, or modes of thought and action, in the self-same substance—or to denote the difference between the substance itself, and its own attributes and operations.* This exposition of the formula, though expressed altogether in negative terms, is, in my opinion, a substantial one.† Indeed, as the very nature of the subject precludes the possibility of a comparison with any thing which is the subject of our knowledge or experience, it follows, of course, that we cannot conceive, much less define, it otherwise than negatively. Besides all which, we have historical evidence of the inextricable difficulties, in which those theorists have been involved, who have attempted to define this personal distinction between the Father and the Son with mathematical precision. In all such attempts of the kind as I have seen, the definition is either less intelligible than the thing defined, or is such as to land

* The Augustan confession thus defines the sense of the word *person*. “*Nomine personæ utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causâ scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.*”

† See Storr über den Zweck der evangelischen geschichte, und der briefe Johannis. Tubing. 1786. p. 474, &c.

us in Tritheism on the one hand, or on the other, in the very error, to preclude which the term was introduced.*

As to the proposition added to this formula, by the ancient Fathers, the scholastic writers, and various theologians of our own church, with respect to the generation of the Son, and the *γεννησια* of the Father, I concur with many eminent divines, in thinking that it might be abrogated, or at least left *in medio*, without at all invalidating the established doctrine respecting the divinity of Christ. It is clear, that this doctrine of the generation of the Son involves neither the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, nor the difference between them. There may be some, however, whose respect for the decisions of the Nicene Fathers, and the scriptural arguments by which they are supported, may induce them to retain the word *generation*. By such the formula before us may be still employed with the addition of that term. But let it be observed, that the word in question, when used by itself, can only serve as an arbitrary symbol of some unknown relation of the Son to the Father; so that they who employ it, even by so doing, acknowledge their inability to comprehend its meaning: and when the phrase is amplified so as to declare that the Son is generated *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*, it denotes, after all, no more than this, that he was neither begotten out of any other essence, nor created out of nothing. But if they undertake to define this generation positively, let them be cautious to produce a definition neither inconsistent with itself, nor clashing with established principles respecting the nature of the Father and the Son.

I conclude, then, that the doctrine, which I undertake to defend, may be summed up in these two propositions:

I. *Christ is not merely like the Father, or equal to him in nature and in dignity, but is of one and the*

* See note A, at the end of the article.

same divine substance: or in other words, the attributes of Christ are numerically the same with those by which the Father is distinguished from all finite and created things, as being an infinitely perfect spirit, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe.

II. *There is between the Father and the Son, not a mere nominal or logical* distinction, but a real difference.*

In attempting to defend the doctrine here propounded, I shall content myself with selecting from among the multitude of arguments which have been brought to bear upon the subject, those which I consider as most striking and conclusive, to the explanation and support of which, I shall limit my attention. And here I would observe what I take for granted in the very outset, that the foundation of all argument upon this subject must be *exegetical*, not merely *philosophical*.† Indeed, the whole subject of the Trinity, and more especially that part of it immediately before us, (the divinity of Christ,) is so distantly removed from all analogy, and lies so far beyond the reach of sense and intellect, that a demonstration, strictly philosophical, of the truths which it involves, seems quite impossible. And this conclusion is strengthened by experience; for of all the writers, who, in the middle ages, or in later times, have attempted to build a demonstration of these truths upon abstract principles alone, not one has been able to prove any thing but the miserable weakness of the human mind. It may not be amiss to illustrate this assertion by two signal instances, drawn from the writings of two most ingenious men. The

* By a *nominal* or *logical* distinction, is meant a mere difference in name, in exterior relations, in the mode of conception, &c. See p. 6.

† Leibnitz himself, admits that the questions which arise upon this subject, must be decided more by the authority of texts, than by mere abstract reasoning; and Lambert, in his letter to Urlsperger, where he lays down the proper method of investigating this same subject, expresses a similar opinion.

first is Toellner, who observes, "that we cannot but conceive in God, of three eternal and essentially distinct operations ; the operations of working, conceiving, and desiring all possible good, both within and without himself. Now three operations really distinct from one another, yet performed from eternity in mutual connexion, presuppose three operating principles, themselves distinct. And accordingly, the mind enlightened by revelation, does admit, that the *power*, the *understanding* and the *will* of God, are not merely faculties, but three distinct independent powers, that is, three substances."*

It need scarcely be observed, that the reasoning is here founded on a mere gratuitous assumption of the fact, that the three divine acts, which are commonly distinguished in our conceptions of the Deity, are to be ascribed to three acting principles really distinct ; and that these three principles are substances. But independently of this, if we admit the validity of Toellner's argument, some new definition of the difference between the Father and the Son, must be substituted for the one proposed above, and some new idea of equality and consubstantiality, take the place of that which the orthodox, for the most part, entertain.

A more ingenious, but not more tenable, hypothesis, is that proposed by Lessing, who imagined that the necessary existence of the Son of God might be argued from the fact, that God must, of necessity, have always present to his view, a perfect image of himself, exhibiting the whole extent of his perfections, with such complete exactness, that

* See Toellner's *Kurze Vermischte Aufsätze*, II. B. 1 Samml. 1769. p. 81, &c.

This mode of reasoning was very much in vogue among the Catholics of early times, and among the school men always, as a means of demonstrating the truths of theology on philosophical principles ; the faculties and operations of the human mind, being put in requisition, first to *illustrate*, and afterwards to *prove* the doctrine of the Trinity.

nothing which exists in the model can be wanting in the image. His expressions are as follows: "Must not God have a perfect conception of himself, (that is, one in which every thing is, that is in God himself?) Now would it be true, that this conception of the Deity comprehended all things existing in the Deity, if, of his necessary reality, as of his other attributes, there were only an idea, or possibility, and nothing more? Such a possibility might exhaust the other attributes; but would it be so, in respect to necessary reality? If not, it follows, either that God has no such perfect image of himself at all; or else, that such perfect image is as necessarily self-existent as he is himself."* We find the same hypothesis set forth in Lessing's posthumous works, in a way which shows that it was intimately associated, in the author's system, with the doctrines of Pantheism.† It is unnecessary to observe, that the cause of truth owes slender thanks to any one who would have recourse to the principles of Pantheism, in order to prove the divinity of the *λογος*. But it is easy to demonstrate, that from such a source, no aid can be derived in establishing our doctrine of the Trinity. For, waving the palpable discordance of

* *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. Berlin, 1785. p. 68. See note B.

† "God can think of himself only in two ways. He may either consider his perfections in a mass, and himself as their aggregate or sum; or he may consider his perfections one by one. God has conceived himself, from eternity, in all his perfections; that is to say, he has created a Being from eternity, possessing all that he himself possesses. This Being is God himself, and cannot be separated from God; when we conceive of it, we conceive of God, and cannot think of it, but when we think of God, any more than we can think of God without God; or in other words, there could be no God, without this perfect conception of himself. This Being may be called the image of God; but it is an identical image."

(See also Jacobi über die lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn, 1785. p. 41, 42.)

the latter with Lessing's notion of the Son of God, who does not see, that upon his principle, no valid reason can be given for believing simply in a *pair* or in a *trinity* of self-existent beings, or for not believing in an infinite series of such beings? For if all things, that exist in God, exist also in this image, supposed to be formed by God, it is plain that perfect consciousness must be ascribed to it: and when that is once admitted, I can see no principle that would restrict the number of these images to any thing below infinity.

It is no part of my design, however, to give a full specification of the many similar attempts which have been made to derive the truths in question from mere abstract principles. Were such a detail included in my plan, it might easily be shown, that the result, in every case, is an ample confirmation of the fact before asserted, that this *philosophical* or abstract method of proving the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the trinity, is absolutely futile. I shall, therefore, dismiss it altogether, and proceed at once to the consideration of the arguments derived from scripture: reviewing, first, those *dicta* of the apostles John and Paul, in which our doctrine is apparently inculcated—and afterwards inquiring what confirmation the inferences thence derived receive from the words of Christ himself.

1. That John is to be esteemed the highest authority upon this subject, may be fairly inferred from the circumstance, that he enjoyed, in an especial manner, the affection and confidence of Christ; together with the no less important fact, that he composed all his writings, and especially his gospel, for the very purpose of expelling from the Church, an erroneous notion which had crept into it, highly derogatory to the dignity of Christ. He himself declares this to have been the case, in a passage near the close of his gospel, where he states, that it was written *ἵνα πιστεύσωσι οἱ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, that those who read it, *might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*. To the same point goes the

testimony of Irenæus, which, so far as I can see, is unimpeachable.* In his book against heresy, (B. III. ch. 11. § 1.)† he distinctly asserts, that the Gospel of John was written, to extirpate from the Christian Church, the errors of Cerinthus; who, as Irenæus states,‡ denied that the world was made, either by Christ, or by the Supreme God; while he held, that the former was superior to all the angelic spirits, but in essence different from God, and united himself with Jesus, a mere man born in the ordinary way, during the period which intervened between his baptism and his death, for the purpose of assisting him in teaching wisdom, and in working wonders.

Whether, in the composition of this gospel, the apostle had not also in view those who held that John the Baptist was the Christ, is a question which does not admit so satisfactory an answer.§ It is a doubt which I am not prepared to solve; for although I am persuaded, that the gospel itself affords just as complete a refutation of the one heresy as of the other,|| I am not aware that the historical evidence is clear enough to warrant a positive decision. It is by no means certain, that, while John was living, there prevailed at all, or at least, among those to whom his writings were addressed, a notion that the Baptist, and not Jesus, was the true Messiah.

But whatever may have been the particular occasion,

* See Storr's remarks, in the *Repertory of Biblical and Oriental Literature*, P. xiv. p. 127: also, his work *über den Zweck der Evangel. Gesch. und der briefe Johannis*. 1786. p. p. 55, 176.

† His words are these: "John wishing, by the explicit declarations of his gospel, to extirpate the error disseminated by Cerinthus, begins with declaring, that, in the beginning, &c.

‡ See note C.

§ See note D.

|| This is clearly proved by Storr, *über der Zweck, &c. Abschn. I. Haupt. A.*

which gave rise to so careful and minute an exposition of the nature and character of Christ, as we find in the works of this apostle, it is certain that the whole New Testament contains no testimony to the Deity of Christ more clear and conclusive, than the introduction to John's Gospel. It is in these words *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*. It will here be necessary to ascertain precisely the true import of these terms, and how far they go to prove that the doctrine which I am maintaining, is coincident with that of the apostle John.

There could be no difficulty in determining the sense of the word *λόγος*, were we possessed of authentic information respecting the source from which it was immediately derived, or any peculiar circumstances which may have led the apostle to make use of the expression. But as all such historical guides are wanting, we must find some other clue to the interpretation. It has been said, but never proved, that the term must be traced to the Chaldee language,* to the phraseology of Philo, or to that of the Cerinthians, in order to discover its peculiar import as used by the apostle. For my own part, I believe, that there are only two practicable methods of making the discovery. The first is, to appeal to the apostle's own authority, by comparison, and reference to other passages. The other is, to trace the idiomatic senses of the term, in the Hebrew, Greek, or Alexandrine dialect. I shall have recourse to both.

I. To begin with an inspection of the context ;—it is clear from that criterion, that the apostle used the word *λόγος* to denote an *essence—an intelligent and divine essence, truly different from the Father, and yet the same, which is otherwise called Christ*. For the first three verses of the chapter, as well as the fourteenth and fifteenth, will not bear the meaning put upon them by interpreting the word to

* See Doederlein's Institut. Theol. Christ, P. I. † 105.

mean a mere attribute, or action, or exterior relation, or nominal distinction, or any thing, in short, but a distinctive name for Christ. To prove my point more clearly, I shall examine² these hypothetical interpretations one by one.

In the first place, then, if we interpret λογος as an abstract term, the words, with which this gospel opens, will, if significant at all, have only such a meaning as is, at once, unworthy of the author, and foreign from his purpose. Admitting, for example, that it means, what it often means in Philo's writings, the **חכמה** or *intellect* of God, or the whole *vis divina* generally, how shall the apostle be defended from the charge of needlessly accumulating tautologies and truisms? or how can we account for his insisting with such earnestness, upon a truth, which those, for whom he wrote, had never doubted, much less disbelieved?*

Or, suppose that λογος comprehends not only the *vis divina* in itself, but its outward exhibition; and that John intended by it to express the power of God, so far as it appears in actual exercise. The first clause of the sentence would² in that case, be appropriate enough to his design of refuting the Cerinthian heresy. *Εν αρχη, in the beginning*, (the very beginning of which Moses speaks in Genesis, i. 1.) *ην ὁ λογος, the power of God exerted itself*. But with what possible design, or in what imaginable sense could he have added what comes next, ὁ λογος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λογος; that is to say, upon the assumed hypothesis, *the exertion of God's power was with God, and the exertion of God's power was God himself!* No one, I suppose, would tolerate the following analogous expressions, "Peter's mind, so far as it is seen in outward action, and becomes conspicuous to others, is with Peter, pertains to Peter, is intimately united to Peter, is Peter himself!"

Another sense that has been proposed, is that of *action*,

* See note E.

as applied to God.* Nothing more need be said of it, than that it makes the words ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον quite superfluous, and those which follow, perfectly absurd.†

But of all the interpretations that have ever been suggested, the most far-fetched and unnatural, is that which makes λογος synonymous with *gospel*.‡ For even waving the important fact, that this meaning does not harmonize with the design of the apostle, it is no easy thing to twist the words Εν αρχη ην ὁ λογος, into the sense, that *from eternity God knew the gospel, and had decreed its propogation*. It is harder still, to reconcile with any rule of legitimate interpretation, the application of λογος in the third clause of the first verse to the *author of the gospel*, and in what goes before and after, to the gospel itself.§ But it is superlatively hard to justify, upon any principle of grammatical construction, the arbitrary reference of αυτου, in the third verse, to Θεος, instead of λογος as its antecedent. It appears, then, that the first three verses of this gospel, cannot be interpreted simply and intelligibly, upon the supposition, that the word in question is either used abstractly to denote any attribute of God, or the exhibition of any of his attributes—or employed as a synonymous expression for the gospel.||

By the same process we are led to the conclusion, that the λογος, does not differ from the Father merely in name or in

* So Hesse understood the word. See his *Plan des Reichs Gottes*. P. II. p. 77.

† For this reason, Hesse in translating the third clause, changes the abstract to a concrete: *Gott selbst war es was sich offenbarte*.

‡ This is the opinion of Benjamin Dawson. See *British Theological Magazine*. Vol. IV. No. 2.

§ The ουτος in verse 2, evidently refers to λογος, the word that was God.

|| See note F.

the mode of conception. For although the words Θεός ἡν ὁ λόγος, teach clearly, that the λόγος is divine, and has a separate personal existence, it is no less clear from the preceding words, that between the λόγος, and the being there called Θεός, and in other places Πατήρ, there exists an actual and real difference. It is not merely *nominal*: for who can read the words ὁ λόγος ἡν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν and imagine that ὁ λόγος and ὁ Θεός are one and the same person? We should laugh at the absurdity of a similar expression in relation to a man; Σιμων ἡν πρὸς Πέτρον, *Simon was with Peter!* It is not merely *logical*; that is to say, the difference is not in exterior relations, but in the thing related; not in our mode of conception, but in the thing which we conceive. For if we admit the λόγος to be itself the very being, *with whom* it was in the beginning, viewed under some particular aspect—as endowed, for example, with some specific quality,* or as manifested in exterior acts,† or as operating in the man Christ Jesus,‡ we cloud the apostles words in obscurity and convert them into nonsense.§ We must therefore conclude from the words of the apostle in the first three verses, that the distinction between Θεός λόγος, *God the word*, and Θεός Πατήρ, *God the Father*, is not a mere *nominal* or *logical* distinction, but a real difference.

Again, it is clear, that λόγος is not used abstractly, but to denote an essence, from the terms employed in describing the true light (το φῶς το αληθινόν||) the identity of which with the λόγος is apparent from a collation of the first five verses with the ninth and tenth. The same inference may be drawn from the words ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.¶ For I see no practicable

* See note G.

† See note H.

‡ See note I.

§ See note J.

|| Ο κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω—οἱ ἰδιοὶ ἄνθρωποι οὐ παρέλαβον—ἐδῶκεν ἡμεῖς τὰ τέκνα Θεοῦ γενεσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (John i. 10—12.)

¶ See note K.

method of applying these expressions to an *attribute* of God without supposing a *personification* (a figure foreign from the apostle's style) and that, too, of the most extravagant description. That John ever dreamed of adopting Philo's notion, that the wisdom of God was *literally personified*, is a supposition wholly void of plausibility, though it has been advanced by some who deny the apostle's inspiration.* I conclude, then, that neither $\phi\omega\varsigma$ nor $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ is to be considered as an abstract term, but that both are employed to denote a real essence.

That this essence or person (the name of which is Christ,) is essentially distinct from God the Father,† through the same in substance, the fourteenth and eighteenth verses explicitly declare. From the language of the latter, we learn, that $\delta\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ there mentioned and $\delta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ are the same. $\text{Εθεασαμεθα την δοξαν αυτου δοξαν ως μονογενους.}$ *We have seen his glory (the glory of the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, of the word made flesh,) as of the only begotten Son,* (such glory, to wit, as becomes the only begotten Son of God.) Now in this very same verse,‡ as well as in the eighteenth,§ the *only begotten Son*,|| thus clothed with the glories of the Deity, is in such a way distinguished from the Father, that we cannot possibly suppose it to imply a mere metaphysical or verbal difference, without supposing, at the same time, that the apostle uttered nonsense.¶ We are, therefore, really forced into the con-

* See note L.

† See note M.

‡ Whether we suppose $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ to refer to $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha$, or, which is more probable, to $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$, a distinction between the $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ and the Father is plainly indicated.

§ Where the *only begotten* is said to be *in the bosom* of the Father; that is, intimately united with him.

|| See note N.

¶ As sheer nonsense as if one should say "Cicero the orator in the bosom of Cicero the consul" &c.

clusion, that the λογος, though refulgent with the fulness of the majesty of God, is at the same time, really distinct from God the Father. And that the being thus proved to be distinct, is Jesus Christ himself, I infer from the declaration in the fourteenth verse, that he dwelt among men, and that they beheld his glory; as well as from the language of the 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th,* and 15th† verses.

Such is the testimony of the context: I now proceed to show that the sense which it leads us to attach to the word λογος, is not at variance with the *usus loquendi* of the language,

II. I admit, that the term is strictly and originally abstract; but, to any one acquainted with the idioms of Hebrew and of Hebrew-Greek, the fact must be familiar, that, in both those dialects, abstract and concrete terms are freely interchangeable. Assuming this, however, the question is, what sense can be legitimately fixed upon the term thus used? The answer can only be obtained by tracing the analogies and idioms of the two dialects just mentioned. The analogy of Hebrew which was no doubt, followed by the seventy, as well as by the writers of the books of the New Testament, would justify the use of λογος to denote either generally an *intelligent or thinking nature*;‡ or in a narrower sense, *one who speaks*, whether in the name of another or his own;§ or, again, the *author or teacher of a doctrine*;|| or finally,

* Where it is said that the *light* (which has already been identified with the λογος) is the person of whom John was to bear witness, and whom *his own* received not. All this, it is plain, can be applied to none but Christ.

† Ιωαννης μαρτυρει περι αυτου.

‡ See note O.

§ See Psalm cix. 4. and *Storr's observations*. p. 15.

|| See John i. 4, 5. xi. 25. xiv. 6. 1 Cor. i. 30.

*one who is promised or foretold.** From various expressions in the works of Philo,† it appears, that he applied the term in question, not only to the exalted being whom he calls the *Word of God, the most ancient word, the first begotten, the eldest angel, the archangel, God's interpreter, &c.*; but to all *intelligences*, human and angelic, as having alike emanated from the intellectual power of the Deity. It seems also very probable, that the author of the book of *Wisdom* intended by the λογος which he mentions, (xviii. 15,) to designate some angel, perhaps the very same whom Philo calls the Word of God and the archangel.‡

Of all these authorized interpretations, which would be most appropriate to the passage now in question, is a point, which I do not venture to determine. I lean, however, to the sentiment of those who explain the term to mean the *teacher of a doctrine,§ a messenger from heaven,|| an expounder of the will of God.* I prefer this sense, because it harmonizes best with the language of the eighteenth verse; and because it enables us more clearly to account for John's choosing out this term, to denote Christ Jesus as distinguished from the Father. At the same time, I cheerfully admit, that by adopting any one whatever of the meanings thus submitted to our choice, we may render the interpretation of the passage, intelligible, simple, and consistent with the context.

Having now proved, from the authority of John, that the person called Christ, is truly different from the Father, I pro-

* See Storr's obs. p. 19. d Cramer's Comm. on the introd. to John's Gospel. Part. I. p. 228.

† See note P.

‡ See Schleusner's *Spicileg. Lexici in interpr. Gr. Vet. Test. maximè Apocryphos.* p. 75.

§ See Doederlein's *Inst. Theol. Christ.* P. I. p. 217, (first edition.)

|| See Storr über den Zweck &c. p. 49.

ceed to show, by the testimony of the same apostle, confirmed by that of Paul, that the nature of the difference between them is not such as to involve the idea of inferiority upon the part of Christ, or to imply that he is merely similar in substance to the Father, or even equal in dignity and perfection, but not numerically identical with God.

I think it clear, that John designed to represent the *λογος* as partaking of the very essence of the Deity, and as being God in the very highest sense. For he is not content with saying that the *λογος was with God in the beginning*; that is, before the creation of the world, or at the very time of its creation,* but clearly intimates in the succeeding words, that the terms, employed in describing this intimate association, are equivalent to an expression of identity, *for the Word was God*. I presume, that the genuineness of this latter clause will not be questioned. Crellius and Bahrdt have proposed emendations of the text; but founded merely on conjecture and in the face of all authority.†

It has been, said that *Θεος* here means, not the Supreme God, but an inferior Deity. As the former sense, however, is that which it uniformly has in the New Testament,‡ it is scarcely credible, that the apostle would, without admonishing the reader, employ it in another and a lower sense. A Jew and an apostle, he would never have used language in relation to the Deity, so ambiguous and obscure, and consequently, so well fitted to mislead the Gentile convert into error and idolatry. But whatever doubt might possibly arise upon the point, it is wholly dissipated by the words of the apostle in the third verse: “*All things were made by*

* See Grotius' remark on the meaning of the phrase *εν αρχη*, in his commentary, also Semler's paraphrase of the Gospel of John, and Storr über den Zweck &c. p. 432; See also note Q, at the end of the article.

† See note R.

‡ See note S.

† See Storr über den Zweck.

him, and without him was not any thing made that was made; and again, in the tenth, *the world was made by him*. That these expressions indicate the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father, I shall attempt to prove, by showing, first, that *both John and Paul do actually ascribe the creation of the world to Christ*; and, secondly, that, *he must in consequence be God, identical with the Father*; and that not *specifically* merely, or as one of the same species, but *numerically*, that is, one and the same being.

To begin with John, I maintain that he ascribes the creation of the Universe to Christ, in the third and tenth verses of his Gospel. This interpretation of the passage is required by the import of the terms employed, by the context and by the design of the apostle. That *παντα*, in the third verse, is used in its largest sense, and signifies literally *all things*, is clear from the latter clause of the same sentence, where the apostle, as if on purpose to obviate any difficulty on that point, agreeably to the Hebrew idiom, explains his affirmative by a negative, denying the opposite of what he had asserted.* It is no less evident, that *εγενετο* must mean *were made*, or *were created*, in the proper sense of those expressions, and cannot possibly be made to signify any new creation, physical† or moral.‡ It may be proved, in the clearest manner by induction, that the term is never used by the Seventy, or the apostles, or contemporary writers, in the sense of moral reformation.§ To Faustus Sdcinus' hypothesis, that *παντα* means the *gospel dispensation*, and *εγενετο* that new creation of a moral nature, which it wrought,|| there is this additional objection, that Christ is said to have made the *world*, a term which is admitted to be never used in

* See Grotius' remarks upon the passage.

† See note T.

‡ See note U.

§ See note V.

|| See note W.

the New Testament, to designate the gospel, or the gospel dispensation, or the renovated hearts and minds of men. But it may be said, that the true sense of the words $\delta\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\iota'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$, is, that the moral condition of the human race, or of its major part, was meliorated by Christ. But how shall this be reconciled with facts, or with the very words of the apostle in the very same sentence? $\delta\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\gamma\omega$, *the world knew him not*.*

If, then, any regard is to be had to the true import of language, and to the testimony of the context, it must be admitted, that, at least in John's opinion, the world was made by Christ;† and that all things excepting God the Father, owed their origin to him. The pertinence of such a doctrine to the design of the apostle, as explained above, is evident at once. What indeed, could be better fitted to exhibit, in its true light, the dignity of Christ; and what more at variance with the Cerinthian notion of a *Demiurgus*, or *Creator* distinct from the Supreme God as well as from his Son?

For proof of Paul's concurrence with John in these opinions, I would refer, in the first place, to the first chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews. His design appears to have been this: to show the excellence of Christianity from the exalted rank of its founder,‡ by correcting the grovelling notions of the Jewish converts, in regard to the Messiah, and at the same time, their extravagant opinions with respect to the dignity of angels.§ With this view, having proved the superiority of Christ to the angels, he goes farther in the tenth verse, and declares, that he was as truly the Creator of the world as Jehovah himself. This I believe to be the genuine import of the words $\Sigma\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \alpha\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\epsilon\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu\ \epsilon\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\ \tau\omega\nu\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega\nu\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$. To justify my inference, however, two things must be proved:—first, that

* See note X.

† See note Y.

‡ See note Z.

§ See note AA.

the words are addressed to Christ ; and secondly, that they are addressed to him as the Creator of the world.

As to the former point, I think the supposition, that *ουρανοι* means angels, and that what is said respecting them, (v. 10—12.) is to be taken in connexion with what follows—clearly repugnant to the words themselves, as well as to the context.* But even admitting that *ουρανοι* might possibly mean *angels*, and that those to whom the epistle was addressed, imagined like the Jews of later times,† that some of the angels were every day annihilated and their place supplied by others—can we suppose, that a doctrine, in itself so absurd, and so inconsistent with the word of God, would have been received and sanctioned by an inspired apostle?‡ Nay conceding even this, and admitting, for the sake of argument, what is utterly untrue—namely, that his interpretation of the words, is, in itself, legitimate ; still, the tenor of the context will not suffer us to sever these three verses (10, 11, 12,) from the eighth and ninth, and connect them with what follows. If the apostle had designed these three verses to be understood of angels, he would certainly have instituted in the tenth, some new comparison between them and the Son, which is not the case. Besides, what is said of the Son in the thirteenth verse, is evidently said by way of contrast, not with what had just before been said (as Wetstein supposes) of the angels, but with that which follows, in the fourteenth verse. The inference then is, that the comparison of Christ with the angels is resumed in the thirteenth verse, and that the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses are to be taken in close connexion with the eighth and ninth. Assuming this as proved, the question still arises, whether the words *κατ' αρχας* &c. are addressed to Christ himself, or to God the

* Wetstein interprets the 10, 11, and 12 verses as having reference to angels.

† See Wetstein's notes upon v. 12.

‡ See note BB.

Father, exclusively of Christ. The latter supposition is at variance with the context, and destroys the force of the apostle's reasoning. The passage is totally obscured, unless the words $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\iota\omicron\upsilon$, prefixed to the eighth verse, are also understood before the tenth. And there is another cogent reason for rejecting all interpretations, which apply the words in question to the Father, exclusively of Christ. It is, that they must either forcibly sever the natural connexion between the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses,* or else unitethem to what goes before by some unmeaning *nexus* which makes the apostle's reasoning illogical and inconclusive.† On every principle of sound interpretation, therefore, these words, whatever be their import, must be considered as addressed to Christ. Nor can this conclusion be invalidated by asserting, that the supposed allusion to Messiah, in the Psalm from which the words are taken, cannot be positively proved. It will scarcely be disputed, that the apostle was at liberty to point out, in explicit terms, those covert allusions in the books of the Old Testament, which he knew by inspiration.‡ And it will not be denied, that in the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses, the apostle speaks of Christ; and yet the language of those verses is derived from the Old Testament, and from passages in which the reference to the Messiah is not a whit more susceptible of proof. I conclude, therefore, that the words of the tenth verse, are addressed to the same being whose dignity is represented in the eighth and ninth—in a word, to the Son of God.§

But the question now arises, how are these words to be understood of Christ? Do they represent him as an agent or an instrument? Do they imply that he did, of himself, lay the foundations of the earth, or merely that the Father did it by him? The latter interpretation is by no means in-

* See note CC.

‡ See note DD.

† See note EE.

‡ See note FF.

consistent with the doctrine of the apostle, who distinctly asserts, in the second verse, that the Father laid the foundations of the earth by means of the Son. There is nothing, however, in the words before us, which, in itself, has such a meaning, nor any thing in the context which renders that idea necessary to complete the sense. Nor could the words *by Christ*, or *by means of Christ*, be inserted in the latter clause—*The heavens are the work of thy hands*. From these considerations, it appears most probable, that the expressions of the tenth verse have reference to the Son precisely in the same sense as the eighth and ninth; and consequently, that the words $\Sigma\upsilon\ \text{Κυριε}$, are addressed to Christ.

If this conclusion be admitted, it follows of course, that Christ is represented by the apostle, as the creator of the world.* The expressions here employed—*thou hast laid the foundations of the earth—the heavens are the work of thy hands*,† and others of like import,‡ are uniformly used in the scriptures, to denote the first and original creation described by Moses, and can never be so twisted from their strict sense, as to mean mere moral reformation, or a new creation of the world itself, such as Artemonius pretends took place.§ Grotius interprets the words $\Theta\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu$, &c. thus: *Thou wast the cause of the earth's being founded, and for thy sake were the heavens made*. To this interpretation it may be objected, that the forms of speech in question are always used in scripture to denote the *efficient cause* of the creation||—and there is not a single passage to be found, where a thing done *on account* of any person, or for any person's sake, without his actually doing it himself, is called his work, or the work of his hands.¶

* See note GG.

† See Psalm viii. 4. 6.

‡ See note HH.

§ See note II.

* See note JJ.

¶ See note KK.

Such being the import of these words, and such the person to whom they are addressed, the irresistible conclusion is, that the same work of creation which the Psalmist ascribes to Jehovah, the apostle Paul ascribes to Christ.

This conclusion is corroborated by the words of the same apostle in another place, (Col. i. 16, 17,) where he infers that the Son is the Lord of every creature (or the whole creation, *πάσης κτίσεως*, v. 15,) from the fact, *that by him were all things created* (*ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ ὡαντα*) *that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers.* Here again we find Paul representing Christ as the maker of the world. We cannot explain the sentence otherwise, without doing violence at once to the construction and the context. I admit that there are instances* in which *κτιζειν* and *κτισις* are so modified by being joined with other words,† as to denote the change from a worse to a better state; in particular, the moral renovation, effected by the gospel. But I do not see how such a meaning can be fixed upon the term as used in the case before us. To interpret the expression, *things in heaven and things in earth, visible and invisible*, to mean the Jews and Gentiles, is an outrage on the principles of language.‡ The words must signify either *all things* in the widest sense, which the visible and invisible universe contains, or in a narrower acceptation, angels and men of every rank and order.§ But who can suppose the apostle to have meant, that the pure spirits who dwell in the city of God,|| or the fallen angels whom the scriptures uniformly represent as excluded from salvation, were created (*κτισθεντες*) in the same sense in which Chris-

* Such as Ephes. II. 10; 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15; which passages are appealed to, as decisive of the question by Jonas Schlichting, Grotius, Wetstein, &c.

† See note LL.

‡ See note NN.

§ See note MM.

|| See note OO.

tians are said (Eph. ii. 10.) to be *created* in Christ Jesus, and (Gal. vi. 15,) to be a *new creature*? Can it be supposed, that creation would be asserted of the angels, in this sense, by the same apostle, who, (Heb. ii. 16,) explicitly declares, that Christ *took not upon himself the nature of angels* with a view to their salvation?

It may be said, however, that no such objections could be urged against a more extended interpretation of the words, as indicating some great revolution wrought in the general condition of the universe. But, even admitting the reality of such a change, affecting men and angels, I hold, that the usage of the New Testament writers will not justify this vague interpretation of the words.* I deny that any instance can be found in the writings of Paul or in the whole New Testament, where *κτιζειν* or *κτισις* can, with any plausibility, be shown to mean such a general or universal change as is supposed. And I need scarcely add, that the apostle's reasoning will be rendered weak indeed, if we understand him to deduce the inference, that Christ is the first-born of every creature, (*πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως*) from the fact of his having wrought some universal change in the nature or condition of the universe.

Since, then, both the *usus loquendi* and the context are so utterly repugnant to any forced interpretation of the word *εκτισθη*, it follows, that it must be understood of the first or original creation† And it is worthy of observation, that the apostle has expressed this ascription of creative power to Christ, in language remarkably explicit and precise. He first enumerates the several classes of created things, celestial and terrestrial, invisible and visible, of whatever rank or order,‡ affirming Christ to be their author; and then shuts out every difficulty and exception by comprehending all in

* See note PP.

† See note QQ.

‡ See note RR.

one general proposition : *all things were created by him* and for him.*†

It appears, therefore, that both John and Paul explicitly declare, that the Son of God is the maker of the world. We are now to deduce from these premises the fact, that the power and perfection of Christ are numerically the same with those of the Father. I freely admit, that no such consequence can be inferred from the terms of the passages which make Christ the Creator, considered in themselves. But at the same time, I maintain, that, having once conceded the truth of the assertion, that the world was made by him, the whole tenor of the word of God and every principle of sound philosophy constrain us to admit, that he is God identical with the Father.

That there is one supreme God, the Scriptures uniformly teach. That this supreme God must have made the universe, by the exertion of incommunicable power, and consequently that it could not possibly have been accomplished by the agency of any being inferior and subordinate, is a proposition capable of proof, not only from scriptural authorities, but by reasoning upon abstract principles. The former doctrine of the unity of God is so interwoven with the system of truth revealed in the sacred scriptures, that, without impeaching their authority, it cannot be consistently denied. No one at all familiar with the books of the Old Testament, can be ignorant, that Moses and the other prophets proposed it as the end of all their ministrations to impress indelibly upon the hearts and understandings of the Jews, a proper conception of the one true God, Jehovah;‡ and that

* See Rom. xi. 36; 1 Cor. viii. 8; where *δι' αὐτοῦ* and *εἰς αὐτόν*, are used in reference to the Father.

† i. e. for his glory, or in dependence on his power. See Koppe's N. T. Rom. xi. 36.

‡ e. g. Deut. xiii. 2; Isai. xliii. 10. xlv. 6—8. xlviii. 11. See Zachar. Bibl. Theol. p. 1. p. 302.

this same essential truth which lay at the foundation of the Jewish faith, was fully sanctioned and confirmed by Christ and his apostles, is evident as well from their acknowledging, in general terms, the divine legation of the ancient prophets,* as from their more explicit declarations on this very point, in various parts of the New Testament.† If, then, it is admitted, on the one hand, that there is one supreme God, and, on the other, that Christ is the Creator; to demonstrate the identity of the latter with the former, we have only to prove, that creative power is an incommunicable attribute of God. To this task let us now address ourselves. The arguments upon this point will be naturally two-fold, philosophical and scriptural—those founded upon abstract principles, and those derived from revelation. I shall consider them in turn.

In the first place, then, neither philosophy nor common sense will permit us to ascribe less than infinite perfection to the maker of the world. We can form no conception of active power in a higher degree than that exhibited by him, the mere exercise of whose volition brought all things out of non-existence, of combining and arranging them at pleasure.‡ We can imagine no extent or force of intellect superior to that which grasps in its comprehension all the numberless combinations and relations which bind the elements of the world together.§ And we can conceive no benevolence and wisdom more exalted than that which controls and directs all means and causes to the best of ends—the true felicity of sentient and intellectual nature. How, then, without confounding all distinction between infinite and finite, can we ascribe this power, this wisdom, and this goodness, to a finite being?|| Indeed I know not whether there

* e. g. Heb. i. 1; Acts iii. 18, 21; 2 Pet. i. 10; John x. 35.

† See note SS.

‡ See note TT.

§ See Plotner's Aporisms. P. I. p. 459. (new ed.)

|| See note UU.

is any argument which proves more conclusively the perfection of the Deity, than that deduced from the creation. We may regard it, therefore, as established, that the work of creation could only be performed by a being endowed with infinite intelligence and power. One of two things must follow : either God, by the immediate exercise of his own power, created all things but himself ; or else, the work of creation was performed by a being distinct and separate from God, inferior to him, and dependent on him, yet possessed of infinite perfection. That the latter hypothesis is inadmissible, will be clear, on a slight consideration of the indissoluble union which subsists between the attributes of God. For whether we adopt the notion of existence entertained by Leibnitz and Descartes or not, it is certain from the very nature of the Deity, that his necessary self-existence and his infinite perfection are inseparable, so that the rejection of either involves that of the other.* The world could not, therefore, possibly, be made by the delegated power of any inferior and dependent being, but only by an immediate act of the Deity himself.

The conclusion, thus established by a train of abstract reasoning, may also be derived by induction from the scriptures.

For, in the first place, the Old Testament abounds in revelations, obviously intended to impress the hearts and understandings of the Jews with a deep conviction of this very truth. There are some passages,† in which the work of creation is ascribed to God, in terms so unambiguous and explicit, that no one acknowledging the prophets' inspiration, could for a moment think it possible that it was, or could have been performed by any but Jehovah. Of like import are all those passages which demonstrate the glory and perfection of the Deity, from the wonders of the visible

* See note VV.

† See note WW.

creation,* to which may be added, such as declare that God alone is worthy of implicit confidence; that he alone had power to free the Hebrews from oppression; that he alone had knowledge of the future;† and others of like import. For of all these assertions not one could possibly be true, were any other being possessed of such perfection, as the exercise of creative power presupposes.‡

That the doctrine thus promulged by the ancient prophets, was abrogated by Christ and his apostles, is a supposition which involves, as a necessary consequence, that the prophets, the apostles, and even Christ himself, are open to the charge of the grossest inconsistency. Nay, assuming, what is explicitly declared in the New Testament, that the religion of the early Jews was a divine institution, we charge the Deity himself with inconsistency, if we suppose, that an article of faith, established with such pains and at such expense, and not at all local or temporary in its nature, was annulled by a posterior revelation.§ The apostles would also have been inconsistent, had they admitted and maintained the divine authority and origin of the doctrines taught by the prophets to the Jews; and, at the same time, required them to abandon, not a mere ceremonial rite, but a fundamental article of faith, by transferring to an inferior being the worship due to the one true God alone. Above all the rest, would Paul have been inconsistent, in thus representing the Creator of the world as inferior to the Father. In the Epistle to the Romans, i. 20|| he affirms that the existence and attributes of the Supreme Being,¶ are so apparent from the works of nature, that the heathen who either know

* Ps. xix. Is. xl. 26, &c.

† Is. xliii. 10, 11. xliv. 6, 8. xlviii. 11, &c.

‡ See note XX.

§ See note YY.

|| See Zacharia's Biblical Theolog. P. I. p. 78, and Koppe's remarks on Rom. i. 20.

¶ See note ZZ.

him not, or knowing him, refuse to worship him aright, are wholly *inexcusable*. Now all this is fair, and perfectly consistent,* upon the supposition, that the visible creation was produced by the immediate act of the Supreme God himself. But, on the contrary hypothesis, how can it be true, that a contemplation of effects produced by the operation of a power subordinate to that of God, affords so clear a knowledge of the latter, as to render those, who overlook it, *inexcusable*? Can the mass of men † be expected to infer from the mighty works of a being merely finite, the existence of one infinite? or be blamed for falling short of the Most High, and paying their devotions to a Spirit, subordinate indeed, but gifted with all the stupendous qualities required in the creator of a world? Surely not. How, then, can we suppose, that Paul here ascribes the creation of the universe to any finite being? Shall we have recourse to the hypothesis, that the creating Spirit is *infinite in power*, yet dependent upon God? what then, shall be said of other passages, in which the same apostle ascribes this infinitude of power to the Most High God, and him alone? And how can we believe, that the apostle, would, in that case, have held him *inexcusable*, who conscientiously adored, the Infinite Creator, though of secondary rank, believing with the greatest philosophers of Greece, ‡ that the worship of mankind is due to the Creator of the world, as such. At the same time, it must be confessed, that in the words, which ascribe the creation of the world to Christ, there is something, which, at first sight, may appear to favor this hypothesis. We are told in John, i. 3, and Colossians, i. 16, that the word was made *δια τῆς λογῆς*; and in Heb. i. 2, it is said, that God *δια τῆς υἱῆς τῆς αἰωνᾶς ἐποίησε*. Now I admit that the preposition *δια*, in itself considered, may be understood to indicate the relation

* See note AAA.

† See note BBB.

‡ See Meiner's Histor. Doctr. de Vero Deo. P. II. § 5

of an instrument to him who uses it. But I maintain, that no principle of interpretation requires that meaning to be here attached to it; and, what is more decisive, that the phrase cannot be so interpreted, except on the presumption of an inconsistency in the apostle's doctrine. That the words $\delta\iota'$ αὐτοῦ* in John i. 3, and $\epsilon\nu$ αὐτῷ† in Col. i. 16, may be understood to denote a principal efficient cause, will scarcely be disputed; and as to Hebrews, i. 2,‡ we can no more infer from the phraseology there used, that the creative power, exercised by Christ, was specifically, or numerically different from that inherent in the Father, than we can infer from the language of Hosea, i. 7, that there are two distinct Jehovahs, one inferior to the other. Nor will the context suffer the words $\Delta\iota'$ αὐτοῦ τῆς αἰωνας ἐποίησε, to be understood of a subordinate and instrumental cause. In the tenth verse, Paul himself explains his obscure expressions in the second, by making a direct application to the Son, of the words of the 102 Psalm, which ascribe the work of creation to Jehovah; at the same time setting him in marked opposition to the angels, considered as God's ministering Spirits. Finally, and above all, any explanation of the words in question, which would represent the son as a ministerial agent, in the process of creation, is utterly repugnant to the uniform language of the prophets and apostles.§

It appears, therefore, as well from the principles of sound philosophy, as from the authority of scripture, that the work of creation could not have been performed by any being inferior to God, but only by an immediate act of the Deity himself. Assuming this as proved, we must either abandon the unity of God, a doctrine most clearly and uniformly taught throughout the Sacred Scriptures, or admit, that

* See note CCC.

† See note DDD.

‡ See note EEE.

§ Rom. i. 20, Acts xvii. 24.

Christ (who has already been proved to be the Creator of the world, by the evidence of two apostles*) is possessed of the same *invisible power and godhead* with the Father.

Such are the legitimate conclusions, to be drawn from the testimony of the two apostles, John and Paul. I proceed, as was proposed in the next place, to inquire, how far their statements are confirmed, by those of Christ himself. The question is, did Christ, in any case recorded by the Evangelists, claim the honors due to the Most High God alone? A sufficient proof of the affirmative, is, perhaps, afforded by the fact, that, although habitually reverent towards God the Father, and accustomed to view all things in relation to his glory, yet, when accused by the Jews, of impiety and blasphemy, in arrogating to himself, what exclusively pertained to God, or, in other words, *making himself equal with God*, he neither evaded nor denied the charge.† But this is not all : there are instances, in which he explicitly ascribes to himself, what could not be ascribed to any being inferior to, and separate from God. For example, in John v. 19;‡ he attributes to himself such an intimate participation in the acts and honors of the Deity, that the Jews could not but understand him, as asserting his equality with God. And that the active power, to which, in this last passage, he lays claim, is to be considered as identical with that of God the Father, is apparent from several other passages, particularly, John xiv. 16,§ where he represents the Father as abiding and operating in him ;|| and operating to produce the same effects, which, in another place (John v. 19, 21, 26,) he professes to perform, by his own independent power.¶ I agree, therefore, with those who think, that, in these and other passages,

* See note FFF.

† Matt. ix. 3. Mark. ii. 6. Luke iv. 21. John v. 18.

‡ See Storr über den Zweck, &c. p. 197.

† id. p. 198.

|| See note GGG.

¶ To which may be added, John xv. 14, 15.

Christ does himself, assert his participation in the Godhead of the Father. It is very true, that on the subject of his own pre-existence, and the personal distinction between the Father and himself, he was much less explicit and precise than his apostles. Nor, is the fact, by any means, surprising, for it was, obviously, his design, and one altogether worthy of his wisdom, to confine his personal instructions to the elementary and fundamental truths of his religion, leaving his apostles, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, to develope it more fully, and expound it in detail. But while I admit this, I would not be understood as admitting, that the words of Christ himself afford no premises from which we may infer his pre-existence, and his personal distinction from the Father. What other conclusion can be drawn from John viii, 58, *πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενεσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι*—which words can only mean, that he existed before Abraham.* Neither the text nor context will admit of any other explanation. So, also, his words in John xvii. 5, *Δοξάσων με τῇ δόξῃ ἣν εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι παρὰ σοι*,† can receive no explanation so simple and intelligible, as that which is afforded by the fact, that in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God.

So far as the evidence of Christ himself and his apostles goes, the doctrine of the church is now established. For I hold, that whatever can be proved *hermeneutically*, or by exegetical induction from the scriptures, must be a genuine article of faith. To suppose the contrary, is to suppose, that opposite doctrines may be taught in the self-same forms of speech, and that the gospel, preached by Christ and his apostles, was a medley of truth and falsehood. That Christ and his apostles are authority sufficient to set the subject of dispute at rest, and are altogether worthy of our confidence, I take for granted, as an argumentative discussion of these

* See note HHH.

† See this passage fully explained in Doederlein's *Instit. Theol. Christ.* P. II. (3d. ed.) p. 255, and Storr, *über den Zweck*, &c. p. 427.

points, would here be out of place. I would only observe, that if their credibility be once conceded, the supposition of their having taught some doctrines by way of accommodation to the prejudices of their hearers, is wholly inadmissible, particularly in relation to the doctrine now in question.* We have, indeed, no reason to believe, that the Jews of Palestine, at that time, entertained any notions with respect to the Messiah, analogous to those revealed in the New Testament concerning Christ. On the contrary, all history is at war with such a supposition.† But even if the fact were undisputed, that they did consider the Messiah as a partaker in the essence and perfections of Jehovah—or, to use the words of Philo—as a θεός δευτερος, *second to God*, if not co-equal with him; can any one suppose, that Jesus Christ, would, for the sake of conciliating a superstitious mob, have impiously arrogated to himself the honors of the Deity, and continued the profane assumption till the end of life; nay, even then confirming his false doctrine with an oath before the judgment seat, and sealing it with his blood upon the cross?‡ Or if even this were possible, can any man believe, that the apostles—Jews—and, as Jews, educated in the deepest reverence for God, could, for the same poor motive, so far abandon their religious principles, as to be *false witnesses of God*, by rendering to a fellow man the peculiar honors due to the Most High—honors, moreover, which, if Christ were no more than an apostle, each might have claimed, with equal justice for himself?§ It is incredible. It is worse. The supposition is a monstrous one, and can only be regarded as an insult to Christ and his apostles.

* See Storrs's *dissert. de sensu historico*. Tüb. 1778.

† See *Vermischte Versuche*. Leips. 1785, p. 237.

‡ See note III.

§ See note JJJ.

NOTES.

NOTE A. (p. 14.)

Even *Leibnitz*, though so fond of defining every thing, has taught us by his own example, how difficult it is to define the word *person*, with logical exactness. In the first of his letters to *Loefer*, (who designed, at the time, to write a mathematical refutation of a book, by some English Unitarian,) though he does not altogether approve of the method which his friend had chosen, he helps him, notwithstanding, to the following definition: “By *several persons* in the same absolute substance, we mean several individual intelligences, essentially related to each other.” In another letter, however, he is for amending this definition, by declaring that “*personæ, &c.*, intelliguntur per modos subsistendi relativos incommunicabiles.” It need scarcely be observed, that both are in the true scholastic style—obscurity itself. It is very clear, too, that *Leibnitz* himself, was by no means satisfied with this method of defining the idea, from his language, in a work which he composed about the same time, (*Remarques sur le livre d'un Antitrinitaire Anglois, qui contient de considerations sur plusieurs explicationrs de la Trinité.*) He there lays it down as a principle, that “in relation to *mysteries*, we should keep as close as possible to the very terms of revelation;” and although he afterwards undertakes to tell us what a *person* is, it is rather a negative than a positive explanation. “There must be relations,” says he, “in the Divine substance, to distinguish the persons from each other; for they cannot be absolute substances. And yet these relations must be substantial. The Divine persons are not mere nominal distinctions, or diverse relations; as we say of a

man, that he is a poet and an orator. And yet it must be admitted, on the other hand, that they are not as absolute substances as the whole Deity." See *Leibnitz' works*, *Duten's ed.* Vol. I. pp. 18, 22, 25, 26.

NOTE B. (p. 17.)

Melancthon makes use of a hypothesis very similar to this, not to prove, but merely to illustrate, the doctrine of the Trinity. "The human mind," says he, "when engaged in thought, forms an image of the objects upon which it thinks. We, however, cannot transfuse our essence into these images, which are consequently evanescent. But the Eternal Father, by contemplating himself, begets a conception of himself, which is his very image, not evanescent, but abiding and partaking of his essence." *Loc. Theol. Lips.* 1552, p. 13. In this way he imagined that the application of the terms λογος and απανγασμα to the second person of the Godhead might be best explained.

Similar to both these theories, but much more improbable than either, is that maintained by *Johannes Damascenus*. In the sixth chapter of his book *de orthodoxâ fide*, after laying down the proposition, that *unity is the principle of duality*, he proceeds as follows: "Therefore it is, that the one only God is not without his *Word*, a word, not unsubstantial, but eternally subsisting. There never was a time when God could have been without a Word. He has always had a Word, not like ours, dissolving into air, but abiding, living, absolute; not fluctuating without him, and apart from him, but constantly abiding in him. For where would it be, if generated without the Father? The word of man cannot be permanent, because man himself is frail and short-lived. But as God is perfect and eternal, his Word is perfect, living, and eternal, possessing all things possessed by God himself. The word of man, as it is the product of the mind,

must be something different from the mind itself, and yet it is in one sense the same. Even so, the Word of God is different from the Father, because begotten by him; and, at the same time, is the same in substance; because all things that exist in the Father, exist also in the Word, &c."

NOTE C. (p. 19.)

In the twenty-sixth chapter of his first book, Irenæus makes the following statement: "One Cerinthus taught in Asia, that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by a power separate and distinct from *that which is over all things*. He maintained that *Jesus* was not born of a virgin, (which he held to be impossible,) but was the son of Joseph and Mary, born in the ordinary way; yet excelling other men in rectitude and wisdom:—that after his baptism CHRIST descended upon him, from the power which is over all things, in the form of a dove; revealed to him the unknown Father, and perfected his virtues, but at length withdrew from him, so that Jesus died and rose again, while Christ remained incapable of suffering—a spiritual essence." See also Book III. ch. 16.

NOTE D. (p. 19.)

Wolzogen supposes that John's primary design, in opening his gospel with a description of the excellence and dignity of Christ, was to do away the impression common at that time, that John the Baptist was to be considered the Messiah, and not Jesus of Nazareth. This inference he supposed to be deducible from Luke iii. 15, John i. 6—8, 15, 19, 29, &c. iii. 28. (See *Wolzogen's works*, p. 701.) The same opinion has been maintained and supported by new arguments in our own times. (See OVERBECK'S *Neue Versuche über das evangelium des Johannes*—and STORR *über den zweck der Evangel. Gesch. Joh. Abschn. 1 Haupt.*

NOTE E. (p. 21.)

The third verse would, indeed, still be pertinent enough to the apostle's purpose ; but the first would be quite superfluous, and the second a ridiculous tautology. It may be proper here to mention, that this second verse is wanting in two MSS. (marked 47 and 64, on Wetstein's catalogue.) They are MSS. however, of no authority.

There may be some inclined to think, that λογος, in the first verse, means not the *vis divina* precisely, but, in a more general sense, *active intelligence* or *intellectual power*;—and that the words should, consequently, be translated thus : *In the beginning* (of which Moses speaks) *an intelligent power was exercised ; viz. the intelligent power of God.* I would only ask of such to explain, why λογος has an article prefixed, defining and restricting it—and also, why the words και Θεος ην ο λογος, are subjoined.

NOTE F. (p. 22.)

Those who hold that λογος, in the case before us, is an *abstract* term, gain nothing by appealing to the first Epistle of John i. 2. For even admitting that the passages are parallel, may it not be a *concrete* in both cases ? There is certainly nothing in the cited verse repugnant to the supposition.

As to those who concur with *Grotius*, *Zacharia*, and others, in understanding ζωην αιωνιον to mean *eternal life* itself, and not *the giver* of eternal life, they must interpret the expression ητις ην προς τον πατερα much more rigidly than the apostle Paul. Nor is our doctrine at all at variance with the words απ' αρχης, which, in themselves, neither imply nor exclude the idea of eternal existence. (See Ps. xciii. 2. and STORR, *über den Zweck der Gesch. Johannis*, p. 385.) On the other hand, granting, that λογος, in the first verse, (1 John i.) means the *quickenings doctrines of the gospel*,

and ζωη, in the second, *eternal life*, it may still be denied, that the context is so much alike in both cases, as to require the same interpretation of the terms.

NOTE G. (p. 23.)

There is an additional reason for not interpreting λογος to mean *Deus quia λογικος*, (*God as endowed with wisdom.*) It is, that we cannot in that case, possibly conceive of any reason for John's affirming so earnestly that the λογος *was in the beginning with God.*

NOTE H. (p. 23.)

If we adopt this meaning, we render the words ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον, unmeaning and obscure; and those which follow (Θεος ην ὁ λογος,) perfectly superfluous.

NOTE I. (p. 23.)

This hypothesis is defended in a late work, called *Kurze Revision der Wichtigsten Christlichen Religionslehren.* (p. 8, &c.) It involves us in the same difficulty respecting the words, ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον, and is liable, besides, to this objection, that the λογος is said, in the third verse, to have made all things.

NOTE J. (p. 23.)

How silly and incoherent are the following analogous expressions: The author of the Gospel of John, was [intimately united] with John, the son of Zebedee—the King of Hungary, with the emperor of Germany—and Newton, as a devout and pious man, with Newton, as a man of genius.

NOTE K. (p. 23.)

Teller admits, that it is difficult to justify the explanation of λογος as denoting the *vis divina*, in the phrase ὁ λογος σαφῶς

ἐγενετο. (*Antitheses* prefixed to *Harwood's Dissertations*. Berlin, 1774, p. 51.) But even if we admit, that by an oriental license (of which, by the by, there is not another instance) the terms are here employed in such a sense, is it not really absurd in John to draw so marked a distinction between the Father and the Son, on the ground that in the latter the λογος was incarnate—when the λογος is nothing more than the *vis divina* of the Father himself? Nor is the difficulty removed by supposing, that the phrase ὁ λογος σαρκὶ ἐγενετο, was intended to denote that *influence* or *energetic operation* of the power of God, which was common to Jesus with the ancient Prophets and his own apostles. For, in that case, how shall we explain the fact, that *the word* is never said to have been *made flesh*, except when Christ appeared upon the earth; and that the same form of expression is no where used in relation to the prophets and apostles? And I would observe, in passing, that this exclusive application of the phrase in question will by none be found so hard of explanation, as by those who imagine, that John borrowed his notions in relation to the λογος, from the works of Philo. The latter, far from limiting its application, would have freely extended it to all men. His doctrine was, that the soul of man is an emanation from the *nature*, or rather from the *intellect* of God—(ἐκ της λογικης δυναμεως.) See his treatises, Περὶ τῆ θεοπεμπτης εἶναι τῆς οὐείας. (*Turnebus* and *Hoeschel's* Ed. of *PHILO's works*. p. 570.) and Περὶ της Μωυσεως κοσμοποιας. (p. 33.)

NOTE L. (p. 24.)

An accurate comparison of the works of John and Philo, will clearly show how rash and ungrounded is the notion, that the former borrowed from the latter his peculiar sentiments and mode of reasoning. There are passages, it is true, in Philo's writings, from which it would appear, that he enter-

tained some fanciful hypothesis respecting the transformation of an *attribute* of God, into a *person* or *substance*, distinct from God ; into which error he was probably misled by a mystical interpretation of the eighth chapter of Proverbs combined with his attachment to the reveries of Plato. To my mind, however, his ideas on that subject, and the doctrine taught by John, seem so totally unlike, that I cannot imagine how the visionary notions of the Jew ever came to be charged upon the Christian.

NOTE M. (p. 24.)

On the supposition that *λογος* means *God considered as an intellectual being*, or *as united with the man Jesus*, I do not see how the words *ὁ λογος σαρκὶ ἐγενετο* can be explained. If we adopt the latter sense, it is a mere tautology ; if the former, why is it, that only the *intellect* or *wisdom* of the Deity is said to have displayed itself in Jesus ?

NOTE N. (p. 24.)

That the only begotten Son, in the passages referred to, is distinguished from the Father, not as a mere man, but as the incarnate Word, may be argued from the fact, that the glory ascribed to him, is such as could not be ascribed to a mere man. (See John v. 17, 19.) So, also, in the eighteenth verse, the same conclusion may be drawn from the words *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς*, which express the intimate connexion between the Father and the Son—as well as from the drift of the whole passage. The design of the apostle, no doubt, was, to recommend the gospel by shewing the excellence of Christ, its author. Now, supposing, that, by *ὁ μονογενής*, we are to understand Christ, not under the character of the *word made flesh*, but merely as a man, or even as a man preternaturally brought into the world, how was this description to promote the writer's end ? Did it follow, be-

cause Christ was a man like other men, or even a man miraculously conceived and born, that his instructions were to be preferred to those of Moses and of John the Baptist ?

NOTE O. (p. 25.)

An intelligent nature, i. e. endowed with λογος, *reason*. (See STORR's *observations on the analogy and syntax of the Hebrew language*. Tübingen, 1779. p. 79.) [The other meanings are derived from the abstract λογος, in the sense of *speech*.]

NOTE P. (p. 26.)

“Ο θειος τοπος και η ιερα χωρα πληρης ΑΣΩΜΑΤΩΝ εστι. ΨΥΧΑΙ δε εισιν αθανατοι οι ΛΟΓΟΙ ουτοι.” (Περί της Θεοπεμπτης ειναι της ονειας. PHILO's *works*, Hoeschel's ed. p. 584.) This passage is certainly not subject to the doubts suggested by Cramer, in his commentary. (p. 223.) See also PHILO, περί αποικιας, p. 415. A. and p. 583. A.

NOTE Q. (p. 27.)

The appropriateness of the phrase, εν αρχη ην, as descriptive of Christ, to the design of the apostle, is sufficiently apparent from this consideration ; that *antemundane* (which is equivalent to *eternal*) existence is never ascribed in the Old Testament, to any but Jehovah. (See ZACHARIA's *Bibl. Theologie*, P. I. p. 252, &c.) But the apostle seems also to have had in view the Cerinthians, who denied the eternity of Christ. For it is very probable, that Cerinthus held the *emanation* of spirits from the Deity ; and it is a fact, that all who held that doctrine, in any form whatever, agreed in the belief, that the spirits so emanating could not be eternal. This inference may be deduced from the very idea of *emanation*, as well as from historical testimony.

NOTE R. (p. 27.)

Crellius, upon mere conjecture, reads ΘΕΟΥ, instead of ΘΕΟΣ. (See *Initium Evangelii S. Johannis Apostoli restitutum per L. M. Artemonium.*) *Bahrde*, in his *Neuesten Offenbarungen*, proposes to read ΘΕΟΣ ην ΚΑΙ ὁ λόγος.

NOTE S. (p. 27.)

It cannot be supposed, that the absence of the article implies inferiority; for it is omitted, also, in the sixth and eighteenth verses of this chapter, where, as Unitarians themselves admit, the Supreme God is spoken of. (See *Artemonii Init. Evan. Johann.* p. 342.)

It is worthy of observation, that *Crellius* assigns the very fact mentioned in the text, as a reason why the scriptures nowhere explicitly apply the title *God* to Christ, or rather, why the language of the scriptures ought never to be understood as making such an application. "The higher Christ was held by the sacred writers to be elevated above all other Gods except the Father, the more necessary was it to avoid the application of this name to him, lest he should be mistaken for the Supreme God. For as Christ, while upon earth, was invested with almost omnipotent control over all created things, if the scriptures had expressly called him God, or had not uniformly contra-distinguished him from God, they would have given men a pretext for regarding him as the most high God himself." *Init. Ev. Joh.* p. 295.

NOTE T. (p. 28.)

S. Crellius interprets the tenth verse, thus: *The world, which was about to perish, on account of the sins of Adam*

and his posterity, was delivered from destruction by this life and light—a new period being fixed for the term of its duration. (*Init. Ev. Joh.* p. 541. See also pp. 450, 603.) Upon this, I would observe, in the first place, that the sense attached to *γινεσθαι* is wholly unauthorized by usage; and secondly, that the hypothesis assumed as the basis of the interpretation, is wholly incapable of proof, by scriptural arguments, or any other. For who can believe, in the absence of all historical and physical indications of the fact, that, at the time of Christ's appearing, the world was just relapsing into Chaos?

NOTE U. (p. 28.)

Εἰς αὐτόν, in the tenth verse, is supposed by FAUSTUS SOCINUS—(*Explicat. primæ partis primi capituli Evangelistæ Johannis.* Bibl. Fratr. Polon. vol. I. p. 81, &c.) JONAS SCHLICHTING, (*Commentar. Posthum.* vol. I. p. 9.) LEWIS WOLZOGEN, (*Works*, p. 724.) and others—to mean the reformation effected by the gospel, in the character of men.

NOTE V. (p. 28.)

This appears to be admitted by Faustus Socinus and his followers, who, to justify their novel explanation of *γινεσθαι*, use no argument but this, that the Hebrew writers (whom those of the New Testament imitated) habitually employ *simple* for *compound* terms, and that the analogous word *κτιζεῖν*, is sometimes used, even in the New Testament, in the sense contended for. (See *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* ubi *supra.*)

NOTE W. (p. 28.)

“The word *παντα*,” says Socinus, “is not to be understood so strictly as to mean the *world* or *universe*, but should be considered as denoting the *gospel*, then just pub-

NOTE R. (p. 27.)

Crellius, upon mere conjecture, reads ΘΕΟΥ, instead of ΘΕΟΣ. (See *Initium Evangelii S. Johannis Apostoli restitutum per L. M. Arlemonium.*) *Bahrdr*, in his *Neuesten Offenbarungen*, proposes to read Θεός ην ΚΑΙ ὁ λόγος.

NOTE S. (p. 27.)

It cannot be supposed, that the absence of the article implies inferiority; for it is omitted, also, in the sixth and eighteenth verses of this chapter, where, as Unitarians themselves admit, the Supreme God is spoken of. (See *Artemonii Init. Evan. Johann.* p. 342.)

It is worthy of observation, that *Crellius* assigns the very fact mentioned in the text, as a reason why the scriptures nowhere explicitly apply the title *God* to Christ, or rather, why the language of the scriptures ought never to be understood as making such an application. "The higher Christ was held by the sacred writers to be elevated above all other Gods except the Father, the more necessary was it to avoid the application of this name to him, lest he should be mistaken for the Supreme God. For as Christ, while upon earth, was invested with almost omnipotent control over all created things, if the scriptures had expressly called him God, or had not uniformly contra-distinguished him from God, they would have given men a pretext for regarding him as the most high God himself." *Init. Ev. Joh.* p. 295.

NOTE T. (p. 28.)

S. Crellius interprets the tenth verse, thus: *The world, which was about to perish, on account of the sins of Adam*

and his posterity, was delivered from destruction by this life and light—a new period being fixed for the term of its duration. (*Init. Ev. Joh.* p. 541. See also pp. 450, 603.) Upon this, I would observe, in the first place, that the sense attached to *γινεσθαι* is wholly unauthorized by usage; and secondly, that the hypothesis assumed as the basis of the interpretation, is wholly incapable of proof, by scriptural arguments, or any other. For who can believe, in the absence of all historical and physical indications of the fact, that, at the time of Christ's appearing, the world was just relapsing into Chaos?

NOTE U. (p. 28.)

Ενεσθε, in the tenth verse, is supposed by FAUSTUS SOCI-
NUS—(*Explicat. primæ partis primi capituli Evangelis-
tæ Johannis.* Bibl. Fratr. Polon. vol. I. p. 81, &c.) JONAS
SCHLICHTING, (*Commentar. Posthum.* vol. I. p. 9.) LEWIS
WOLZOGEN, (*Works*, p. 724.) and others—to mean the re-
formation effected by the gospel, in the character of men.

NOTE V. (p. 28.)

This appears to be admitted by Faustus Socinus and his followers, who, to justify their novel explanation of *γινεσθαι*, use no argument but this, that the Hebrew writers (whom those of the New Testament imitated) habitually employ *simple* for *compound* terms, and that the analogous word *κτιζεiv*, is sometimes used, even in the New Testament, in the sense contended for. (See *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* ubi *supra.*)

NOTE W. (p. 28.)

“The word *παντα*,” says Socinus, “is not to be understood so strictly as to mean the *world* or *universe*, but should be considered as denoting the *gospel*, then just pub-

lished and espoused; as if John had said:—This new state of *divine and spiritual things*, which we see produced around us, and throughout the world, is effected solely by the gospel of Christ, and is to be ascribed to the power and agency of Christ.” (*Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* Vol. I. p. 80.)

So, also, *Schlichting*: “By πάντα he means *all things pertaining to the gospel*—the new creation which had then just taken place.” (*Comm. Posthum.* Vol. I. p. 6.)

In accordance with these sentiments, *Sam. Crellius* thus paraphrases the third verse: *All things that were necessary for salvation, and for the propagation of the gospel, were accomplished by the second Adam. Nor was he a mere passive instrument, a mere machine, in the performance of the work. Nothing that was done, was done without his consent, approbation, and authority.* (*Init. Ev. Joh.* p. 538.) It is very surprising that *Crellius* did not apply to this verse the same hypothesis, by which he explained the tenth.

NOTE X. (p. 29.)

The connexion between the members of the sentence evidently requires, that the κόσμος mentioned first, should be understood as comprehending those called κόσμος afterwards. If his meaning had been, that a part of mankind were reformed by Christ, and the remainder not, he could scarcely have expressed it more obscurely and absurdly.

It seems scarcely necessary to observe, that *εγνώ* is to be understood in the sense of the Hebrew ידע as denoting, not mere knowledge or intellectual apprehension, but knowledge in union with affection, so as to include the idea of confidence and veneration. (See *Job xvii.* 3.)

NOTE Y. (p. 29.)

The word *δια*, in the third verse, cannot be translated *for*, *for the sake of*, *on account of*, for two reasons: first, it

is in construction with the genitive—secondly, it is in opposition to the preposition, *χαρις*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that, when used in reference to the creation, it denotes an *efficient* cause, but whether a *principal* or *secondary* one, will be seen in the sequel.

NOTE Z. (p. 29.)

The *Racovian Catechism*, (Q. 135,) assumes gratuitously, that the apostle had in view, not the *inherent*, but only the *derived* or *hereditary* dignity of Christ.

NOTE AA. (p. 29.)

If the supposition were allowable, that among those to whom this Epistle was addressed, there were some who imagined, that one or more of the highest class of angels shared the government of the universe with God, and even took part in the creation, at the same time ascribing to Christ the rank of an inferior angel or that of a mere man, a new light would be thrown upon some parts of the Epistle. (Heb. i. 2, 7, 10; ii. 5—8, 14—17.) But whatever may be thought of this conjecture, it is unquestionably very probable, that Paul had reference in both these chapters, to those who paid more respect to the Mosaic Law, as having been revealed through the agency of angels.

N. B. It is certain, that Philo describes his *λογος πρεσβυτατος*, whom he also calls the *first-begotten Son*, and the *Archangel*, as having been the *instrument* [*οργανον*] of the Deity in the creation, and his *vice-gerent* in governing the universe. Now, if we suppose that Paul designed to opugn this doctrine, (a popular one, perhaps,) how pertinent and apt do his words appear. (Heb. i. 5; ii. 5.) He declares Christ to be the *only-begotten* Son of God, sets him in opposition to the angels, who are ministering spirits, and

even describes him as Creator, in the very same words in which Jehovah is so described in the Old Testament.

(See PHILO, *Περὶ γένεσεως*, p. 195. ed. Hoeschel. *Τῆς οὐρανῶν θείων πραγμάτων κληρονομία*, p. 509, and *Νομῶν ἱερῶν ἀλλεγορίαι*, Book II. p. 79.)

NOTE BB. (p. 30.)

This difficulty is eluded by Michaelis, who, instead of angels, understands by *οὐρανοὶ* the *elements* and the *celestial ether*. (*Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer.*) But I think he has involved himself in one no less perplexing. For it cannot be supposed, that Paul would have attempted to demonstrate Christ's supremacy by showing his superiority to the inanimate creation; unless it can also be supposed that there were some among the Hebrew Christians foolish or mad enough to rank the elements above the Son of God.

NOTE CC. (p. 31.)

The Racovian Catechism (Q. 135) assumes that only what is said respecting *the dissolution* of the material universe has reference to Christ, and that the meaning of the passage is, that God will destroy the heavens and the earth by means of Christ. If this be the case, we must either suppose, that the person addressed is abruptly changed in the twelfth verse, or understand the word *ἐλιξας* as implying the *instrumentality* of Christ in folding up the heavens, &c. Both suppositions, and especially the first, break the natural connexion of verses 10—12. To the latter there is this additional objection, that it wants conformity with the apostle's purpose of proving Christ's pre-eminence above the angels. For how could the Jews be expected to infer the inferiority of the latter, (who were themselves ministering spirits, and agents in many signal changes in the economy of the universe,) from the fact, that Christ was to be employed as

an instrument in the destruction of the world? There is certainly no contrast exhibited in these expressions: *God merely uses angels as his ministers; but by Christ he will destroy the world*; since the office here assigned to Christ could itself be only ministerial.

NOTE DD. (p. 31.)

The author of an English article* in *Der Britische Theologe*—(Vol. IV. Halle, 1781, p. 204,) maintains, that all the expressions borrowed from the 102d Psalm have reference solely to the Father, and are introduced for the purpose of demonstrating the dignity of Christ, by showing the transcendant glory of the being, from whom Christ's glory was derived—or to prove the endless duration of Christ's kingdom from the eternity and immutability of God. If either supposition be admitted, the language of the apostle becomes exceedingly obscure, and his reasoning altogether frivolous. Would any one who had formed no pre-conceived opinion, ever gather from the context, that the author's drift was such as is supposed? Or would any one infer, from the fact of Christ's receiving certain honors from the Father, that he was above the angels? Or does it follow, because he is God's prime minister, that he is to be preferred to all his other ministers? Nor do I perceive how the endless duration of Christ's kingdom can be any more inferred from the eternity of God, than the endless duration of heaven and earth. And it is the more improbable that Paul would have employed this wretched argument, because, in this same passage, he explicitly asserts the mutability of the visible creation; and, in another place, (Cor. xv. 24,) teaches clearly that the mediatorial kingdom of the Son itself, will, in the end, be surrendered to the Father.

* Perhaps Priestley.

NOTE EE. (p. 31.)

If Paul did indeed consider Christ to be the Most High God, he was certainly at liberty to transfer to him all that is said in the Old Testament of God. I would observe, in passing, that in the sixth verse, Paul appears to have borrowed the words of the Old Testament, for the purpose of describing what succeeded the resurrection: and I should be disposed to interpret the fifth verse, on a similar principle, by comparing it with Luke iii. 22, and Matt. xvii. 5, did not the words *και παλιν* forbid such an exposition.

NOTE FF. (p. 31.)

Zacharia is of opinion, that the words borrowed from the 102d Psalm, have reference, remotely, not immediately, to Christ, and are introduced for the purpose of admonishing the reader, that none but the Creator of the world could be its Sovereign Governor. This doctrine is substantially coincident with our's, but I doubt whether the words borrowed from the Psalmist are at all apropos to the supposed design. (See *Zach. Bibl. Th.* P. I. p. 459.)

NOTE GG. (p. 32.)

Even admitting this interpretation, the essence of our argument is unimpaired. It does not follow, because the Father laid the foundations of the earth *by*, or *by means of*, Christ, that the words *την γην* &c., must be understood of a new creation, physical or moral.

θεμελιον properly signifies *to lay the foundations* of an edifice, and, in a secondary sense, to erect the superstructure. In both senses, God is said to have founded the earth. See the Septuagint Version of Ps. xxiv. 2; lxxxix. 11; civ. 5; cxix. 90. Job xxxviii. 4; Prov. iii. 19. Isa. xlviii. 13; li. 13. Zechariah, xii. 1.

NOTE HH. (p. 32.)

For example, ποιειν τον ουρανον και την γην, Gen. i. 1. Exod. xx. 2; xxxi. 17. Nehem. ix. 6. Ps. xevi. 5; cxxi. 2; cxxiv. 8; cxxxiv. 3; &c. To which may be added such as these: ετοιμαζειν, χτιζειν τον ουρανον και την γην; καταβολη (θεμελιωσις) κοσμου. (Heb. iv. 3. &c.)

NOTE II. (p. 32.)

Those who consider the language of Isaiah in certain passages, (lxv. 17; li. 16,) as militating against our conclusions, should recollect, that, in one case, the words חרשי and חרשה are expressly added; and, that in the other, the words לנטע, &c., may (if genuine) be understood in reference to the original creation. (See *Doederlein*, and *Walther*, on the passage.) But even admitting, that in Isa. li. 16, the prophet has reference to some universal change of an extraordinary nature, the adoption of that meaning, in the case before us, is forbidden by the context. For suppose, that the import of the words, Την γην εθεμελιωσας, is nothing more than this—*Thou hast produced some extraordinary change*—what becomes of the antithesis between these words and those which follow, Αυτοι σπρουσται, &c.? I might also mention the violent construction necessary to make αρχη mean the origin of the gospel dispensation.

NOTE JJ. (p. 32.)

To the considerations suggested in the text, may be added this,—that if mention were made of the Messiah as a mere man, it could not possibly be said, in any sense, that the world was made *for him*.

NOTE KK. (p. 32.)

See (in the Septuagint Version) Deut. ii. 7; iv. 28; xvi. 15; xxiv. 19; xxvii. 15; xxx. 9; xxxi. 29. 1 Kings xvi.

At least, there is nothing in the context, which would lead us to understand the Gentiles and the Jews, by the phrases there employed. Whereas, if we suppose them to denote some new relation between Christ and the men and angels subjected to his power, all is coherent and perspicuous. (See STORR's *Dissert. in Epist. ad Coloss.* P. I. Tub. 1786, p. 14.)

To return to the passage more immediately before us, we cannot suppose *κτισις* to be limited, in its application, to the Jews and Gentiles, on account of what immediately follows:—*τα ὄντα καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα* &c. For it is surely not allowable to extend the first expression to the Jews and Gentiles generally, and restrict those which follow to the Gentile kings and magistrates. Can any one suppose, that Paul would have called Caligula or Tiberius a *καὶνή κτισις*?

NOTE NN. (p. 33.)

It is well known that the Jews, and especially the Esenes, against whom Paul seems to argue chiefly in the second chapter, went to a ridiculous excess, in discussing and determining the names and ranks of the different angels. There is no doubt, therefore, that, in using the expressions *εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες*, he had reference to these speculations, not, however, as recognizing their subtle and minute distinctions, but for the purpose of inculcating the sentiment, that all the angels, of whatever rank or order, even the highest of the heavenly hosts, owed their origin to Christ.

NOTE OO. (p. 33.)

The speculations of S. Crellius respecting the past and future influence of Christ's appearance on the condition of the angels, are too frivolous for refutation. (See *Init. Ev. Johann.* pp. 594. 606.) I shall only observe, that the preterite form of the verb, as used by Paul, (*ἐκτίσται*), is in

the way of that interpretation; and that the sense which he attaches to the word *κτισις*, is as much at variance with the usage of the language, as his supposititious change in the angelic hosts with the doctrines of the Bible.

NOTE PP. (p. 34.)

In the Septuagint there is, so far as I know, not a single passage where *κτιζειν* can be proved to have this meaning. The Hebrew *ברא*, to which *κτιζειν* corresponds, when used absolutely, *signifies the causing of a thing to be, which before was not*. So the heavens and the earth, and all that is therein, are said to have been *הברא* or *εκτισθαι*. (Ps. cxlviii. 5; xxxiii. 9. Gen. i. 3; lxxxix. 12. 47. Deut. iv. 32,) where the meaning evidently is, that, by the will of God, they began to be. The same may be said of the words *ברא* and *κτιζειν*, in Jer. xxxi. 12. Numbers xvi. 30. Isaiah lxy. 17. There are some instances, however, in which the ordinary meaning is not appropriate; as in Isaiah xlv. 7. Ps. ciii. 30, in which latter case, *κτισθησονται* being put in opposition to *εκλειψασι και εις τον χεν αυτων επιστρεψουσιν*, (v. 29,) shews that a new creation or regeneration is implied: Even from these, therefore, it cannot be inferred, that *κτισεσθαι* ever means a mere change from one state to another.

It may be added, that, in the apocrypha, *κτιζειν* is very frequently used to denote *creation* in the proper sense, but never in the sense of *change*. (See 3 Esdras, vi. 13. Wisd. i. 14; ii. 23, &c.)

NOTE QQ. (p. 34.)

It ought not to pass unnoticed, that throughout the Bible Jehovah is no where more explicately described as the Creator.

NOTE RR. (p. 35.)

Of whatever rank or order—The apostle appears to have made use of these expressions for the purpose of correcting

their excessive veneration for the angels, and dissuading them from the *angel-worship*, mentioned in the second chapter, (v. 18.)

NOTE SS. (p. 36.)

e. g. Matt. iv. 10. Mark xii. 29. John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 4. That the God mentioned in these passages, is the same as the Jehovah of the Old Testament, may be seen by comparing Matt. iv. 10, with Deuteronomy vi. 13.—Luke xx. 37, 38, with Exodus iii. 6, 16; vi. 2; and John viii. 41, 42, with John xvii. 3,

NOTE TT. (p. 36.)

That this is the sense in which Christ is called the Creator of the World, may be gathered from the facts, that the creation is every where, in scripture, described to be God's bringing into being, solely by his own authority and will, that which before was non-existent; and secondly, that the forms of expression used in the Old Testament, in reference to Jehovah, as being the Creator, are used by Paul in reference to Christ. (See Genesis i. 3. Ps. cxlviii. 5; xxxiii. 9. Hebrews xi. 3.)

Some even of those who maintain, that the world was not created out of nothing, but formed of pre-existent matter, admit, that the power exercised in disposing and arranging that pre-existent matter, is the highest that can be conceived. Their hypothesis, however, appears to me untenable; for I cannot consider the idea of necessary self-existence as compatible with that of mutability. (See *Fragmentarische Beyträge zur Bestimmung und Deduction des Begriffs und Grundsatzes der Causalität und zur Grundlegung der Nat. Theologie. Leips. 1788. IV. Fragm. 2.*

NOTE UU. (p. 36.)

See *a Demonstration of the being and attributes of God*, by SAMUEL CLARKE, Lond. 1706, § XI:—and *Physico-*

theology, or a demonstration of the being and attributes of God, from the works of Nature, by W. Derham, Lond. 1714. Even *Harwood* seems to ascribe infinite power and goodness to the Creator. (See *HARWOOD'S four Essays, &c.*) See also *LAMBERT'S Anlage zur architektonik*, II. B. p. 553, and *Sulzer's Vermischte phil. Schriften*, 1773, p. 337, &c.

NOTE VV. (p. 37.)

Let necessary, independent, and eternal existence be represented by the letter E, and infinite power, intelligence, and goodness, by the letter P. Now the very notion of a *necessary nature* implies the existence of some necessary and most intimate connexion between P and E. And, however you may define the nature of the connexion, one conclusion will inevitably result, viz. that P and E cannot exist apart. For if you suppose, that E is a 'consequence of P, you must, of course, suppose, that where P is, E must be. On the contrary, if you suppose, that P is included or involved in E, you must, in like manner suppose, that where E is, P must be. This being the case, it is as clear, from the principles of logical deduction, that *of any nature in which E is inherent, P must be an incommunicable attribute*,—as it is, that all rectangular triangles possess the property demonstrated in the theorem of Pythagoras. The reasoning will hold good, if you suppose the connexion between P and E to be such that they bear a common relation to a third property X, likewise pertaining to the Divine nature.

Kant and some others hold, in opposition to *Descartes* and *Leibnitz*, that *existence* has no separate reality, apart from *existing things*. Those who maintain this doctrine, (which appears to be the true one,) must either admit that the necessary existence of God supposes infinite perfection

or deny it. If they deny it, they destroy the very notion of a *necessary nature*. If they admit it, how can they believe in the existence of a being infinitely perfect, numerically different from God, and dependent on him?

NOTE WW. (p. 37.)

Genesis ii. 2, (compared with Exodus xx. 11.) Isaiah xliv. 24. Jeremiah x. 12. Ps. viii. 4. cii. 26, &c.

The language of all these passages is such that the writers cannot be supposed to mean a mediate act of the Deity, or one performed by proxy.

NOTE XX. (p. 38.)

On the supposition, that the world was created by an inferior being, how shall we account for the singular ignorance in which the early Jews were kept of this important fact? This circumstance is the more remarkable, because it appears to have been intended by the Deity to accommodate his system of government and instruction to the national propensity of his people towards polytheism, so far as it could be so accommodated, without abandoning the truth. Nor is it a sufficient reason, that the revelation of this fact would have led them into absolute idolatry. For it is well known that the Mosaic Law recognised sacrifices and other rites, very similar to those in use among the heathen.

NOTE YY. (p. 38.)

Apropos to this subject are the words of Lessing, in the following passage from his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, (1789, p. 29.) "An elementary book for the use of children, may without impropriety, pass over in silence any particular branch of the science or art upon which it treats. But it is not at all allowable, that it should contain

any thing which has a tendency to throw obstacles in the way of the child's mastering those branches of the subject thus withheld. It should rather studiously open all avenues by which such knowledge is accessible, and any work of the kind, which has a tendency to divert the reader from those avenues altogether, or to make him resort to them later than he otherwise would, is not merely incomplete, but essentially defective."

NOTE ZZ. (p. 38.)

That the apostle is speaking of the Supreme Being, is apparent from the context ; (v. 17, 18, 25 ;) and is conceded by all commentators with whom I am acquainted.

NOTE AAA. (p. 39.)

It will not be irrelevant to transcribe here a paragraph from *Cranz's* history of Greenland, illustrative of the apostles' doctrine. The historian represents an unenlightened Greenlander, reasoning as follows: "I have often thought that a Kajac with its appurtenances could not possibly be self-existent, but must be the product of human skill and labor, and apt to be spoiled by the ignorance of him who attempts to make them. Now the most diminutive bird is more complicated than the best Kajac, nor is any man capable of making one. But man himself is more complicated and artificial in his structure than all other animals. By whom then was he made? He is generated by his parents and they again by theirs. But whence came the first men of all? They sprang from the earth. But why do men no longer spring from the earth? and what can be the origin of the earth itself, the sea, the sun, the moon, the stars? There must of necessity be some one, who is the maker of all these, who has always been, and can never cease to be. He must be inconceivably more powerful and wise than the wisest

man. He must also be good, because all that he has made is so good and profitable and even necessary for our welfare."

NOTE BBB. (p. 39.)

I freely admit, that the words of Paul are not to be so strictly understood, as to apply the language of the nineteenth and succeeding verses to all the Gentiles collectively and individually ; but, at the same time, I deny, that he has reference exclusively to their philosophers.

NOTE CCC. (p. 40.)

Clarke himself admits, that "the bare use of the prepositions is not indeed, of itself, a sufficient foundation for these distinctions. For $\delta\tau'$ & is used also of the Father, Rom. xi. 36, and Heb. ii. 10, of the son, Col. i. 16. BY or IN him were all things created." He adds, however, that "when they are used in express contradistinction to each other, as in that passage now cited, 1 Cor. viii. 6, they cannot but very much strengthen an interpretation grounded at the same on other texts and upon the whole tenor of Scripture." (See the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 90.) That this last is a mere assumption, is evident from what we have already said, respecting the unity of the Creator, and will be shewn more clearly in the second section.

NOTE DDD. (p. 40.)

See the passages quoted by Storr (über den Zweck, &c. p. 457,) to which may be added Matthew xii. 24, 28, where $\epsilon\nu$, though not convertible with $\upsilon\pi\omicron$, plainly denotes a principal efficient cause. I cannot, therefore, agree with Kleuker in supposing, that the phrase $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ is borrowed from the cabalistic system, and signifies, that *all things were created in him and with him*, or in other words, that he

contains within himself το πληρωμα παντων των κτισθεντων, *the fulness of all created things*. The improbability of this hypothesis is clear, from the scriptural account of the creation and of the Creator; besides which, the historical evidence is wholly inconclusive. Nor is this deficiency of proof at all supplied by the arguments of *Kleuker*, in his book called *Johannes, Petrus, und Paulus als Cristologen betrachtet* (Riga. 1775, p. 223,) or in that lately published, *über die Natur und den Ursprung der Emanationslehre bey den Kabbalisten*. I am especially incredulous, with respect to the cabalistic origin of the apostle's phraseology in Col. ii. 9. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. viii. 20. 1 Tim. i. 17. vi. 15. James i. 17. John i. (See *KLEUKER über die natur, &c.* p. 77.) Any further discussion of this point, however, would be foreign from my subject.

NOTE EEE. (p. 40.)

It may be, that the apostle, in the passages referred to, had in view the opinion, that the world was made by some distinguished angel; and in order to refute it, first asserts, that the world was made *δια τῆς λόγῃς*, *by means of the Son*, (not by means of angels); and afterwards, affirms expressly, that the Son is far superior to angels, who are only God's ministering spirits, and is just as truly the Creator as Jehovah himself.

I cannot venture with the learend Griesbach, to change the reading (*ὁὶ' s*) in the verse before us upon mere conjecture. And as to explaining *αιωνας* to mean *dispensations*, it cannot be reconciled with Heb. xi. 3. See *GRIESBACH'S Progr. de mundo a patre condito per Christum*, 1781; and *MICHAELIS' Erklärung des Briefes an die Hebräer*, P. I. Heb. i. 1.

NOTE FFF. (p. 41.)

This inference is strikingly confirmed by the language which Paul uses, Rom. i. 25, in reference to the Creator,

and Rom. ix. 5, in reference to Christ. On this point, however, I have nothing to add to what has been already said by NOESELLT, (*opusc. fasc. I.* 1st ed. p. 158,) and KOPPE, (N. T. Vol. IV. p. 194.)

NOTE GGG. (p. 41.)

Εγώ ΕΝ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ΕΝ ἐμοί, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ΕΝ ἐμοί μένων. That these expressions do not indicate a mere *resemblance* or *similitude*, is evident from those used in connexion with them, *I speak not of myself—he doeth the works*; while their connexion with what goes before (*He that hath seen me hath seen the Father*,) proves clearly, that they must mean something more than that inspiration which was common to the prophets and apostles.

NOTE HHH. (p. 42.)

Faustus Socinus interprets the words πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγώ εἰμι thus: *before Abraham is become Abraham*—i. e. the father of many nations—*I am already the Messiah*, (See the *works of F. Socinus*: p. 379, and 504.) This interpretation is so evidently forced and repugnant to the context, that one cannot help wondering at the value set upon it by Socinus himself. In the passage of his works last cited, he goes so far as to say: “I have reason to think, that the person who first proposed it, [*Lælius Socinus*] obtained it, by fervent prayer, from Christ himself.” This at least I will venture to assert, that among the many revelations made to that individual, of things unknown to his contemporaries, there is nothing more truly divine than this interpretation.”

The hypothesis, that ἐγώ εἰμι has reference solely to the decree of God, is equally at variance with the context. (See *WHITBY'S Commentary* on the passage; *LIMBORCH'S Christian Theology*, Amst. 1735, p. 100. *WEISMANN'S*

Specimina rabulismi exægetici partis Socinianæ. Tub. 1731. *Storr*, über den Zweck, &c. p. 425.

NOTE III. (p. 43.)

Steinbart, at all times too prolific in fanciful conjectures upon sacred subjects, maintains (in his *Syst. der reinen Philosophie oder Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums*, 3d ed. p. 273) that the words of Christ himself, discussed above, were used for the purpose of accommodating his language to the pythagorico-platonic notions of the Greek Jews. It follows of course, that Christ must have addressed himself solely to *Greek* Jews, or else that John must have fabricated the speeches, which he puts in his master's mouth. I am by no means prepared, however, to show such profound respect to *Steinbart's* authority, as to rank his conjectures, in relation to events which occurred in the first century, above the testimony of most credible contemporary witnesses.

NOTE JJJ. (p. 43.)

Hence, we may readily infer, what judgment should be formed respecting the rule of interpretation which is assumed as an axiom, not proved, in the tenth page of the little work called *Kurze Revision der wichtigsten Christlichen Religionslehren in Aphorismen*, 1875.

[END OF SECTION FIRST.]

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

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BY CHARLES HODGE.

NOTICE.

The following Lecture, was delivered by the writer, in the discharge of his regular duty in the Seminary. It is seldom that any thing prepared for one purpose, is adapted to another materially different. There is much, therefore, in the style and manner of this address, which may seem little suited to a publication of this kind. The reason of its appearance in the Repertory, is simply this. The students to whom it was addressed, under the impression that the statements which it contained might be useful, if more widely circulated, requested that a copy should be given to them for publication. The writer not feeling at liberty to comply with this request, thought that if any good would result from its publication, it might be effected, in a less assuming form, by its insertion in a periodical work.

LECTURE,
ADDRESSED TO THE STUDENTS
OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

In entering anew upon my duties in this institution, I feel constrained to acknowledge the goodness of God, by which I have been so kindly preserved, and restored to the field of labor to which he has called me. As it was a desire to become more useful to you, that led me to leave, for so protracted a period, my friends and country, my heart has been constantly turned towards this institution ; and it frequently occurred to me, that should I live to return to my native land, I would endeavour to impress upon your minds, the practical truths which the circumstances of foreign states and countries, had deeply impressed upon my own. It is true, the vividness of these impressions has faded away, but the convictions in which they resulted, remain. Although the truths referred to, are obvious, and their importance admitted; and although I may fail to bring before your minds, the various circumstances which impress them upon the mind of an American Christian in Europe, it may still be useful to state some of these points, and some of the grounds on which the opinions entertained respecting them, are founded.

I. One of the most obvious lessons which an American Christian is taught, by a residence in Europe, is, *the great importance of civil and religious liberty.*

We are apt, I know, to indulge in unthinking declamation on this subject, and to cherish exaggerated notions of our pe-

culiar advantages in these respects. Nor can it be questioned, that much of our dislike of the peculiar forms of foreign governments, arises from no very pure feeling. The impressions, however, commonly entertained regarding the amount of personal liberty, enjoyed under these governments, are doubtless erroneous. In many cases, the most distinguished stations in every department are accessible to all classes, and there is no doubt, that in some of the more despotic even of these governments, the laws are made with as pure a regard to the best interests of the community, and are administered with as much impartial justice as they ever have been, or are likely to be in our own. It is clear too, that when the authority is vested in the hands of one individual, good may be much more promptly effected than when it is lodged in the mass of the people. Is it not a subject of constant complaint among us, that measures designed and adapted to the mental and moral improvement of the people, cannot be carried into effect, because the least enlightened portion of the community is opposed to them? It is, however, very far from my design, and would be very unsuitable to the present occasion, to enter upon any discussion of the comparative advantages of different forms of government. I merely wish to state, what I think would be the impression made upon any candid individual on this subject. He would doubtless see, and be ready to admit, that many of his early opinions were unfounded; that there are advantages attending the European systems which he had not previously properly appreciated, and yet, he would be deeply convinced of their general evil tendency, and of the inestimable blessing which we enjoy in our own. The great advantage which constitutes in the eye of the Christian the value of our system, is its elevating effect upon the mass of the population. Where the people have nothing to occupy and excite their minds beyond the mere routine of their daily labor; where they are never called upon to think and act in reference to important and general objects; where

passive obedience is substituted for active co-operation; there the mind inevitably sinks—a heavy unexcitable character is induced which nothing can change. Notwithstanding, therefore, the advantage which in some countries of Europe the people enjoy of early education, yet returning at an early age to the dull duties of a peasant's life, they soon relapse into a state of unthinking apathy and sluggishness. The contrast between them and the cultivators of the soil in our own country is immense. This mental inactivity is itself a great evil—man is degraded—he is less an intellectual being, and less susceptible of moral or intellectual impressions. It is in this light and for this reason, that we are called upon as the friends of religion, and human improvement, to rejoice in the free institutions with which God has blessed our happy country.

I have already, however, dwelt longer than I intended upon this part of the subject. The view in which liberty is most interesting to us, is in reference to the church. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world, but it constitutes in the world, a self-existent and independent society, and as such has all the rights of self-government. Among these essential rights, which the church can never resign and which can never be lawfully taken from her; are the rights of deciding upon the terms of membership, selecting and ordaining her own officers, regulating her internal concerns, the exercise of discipline, and in short, all those rights which are inherent in a voluntary association recognised by the laws. When the church is so united to the state as to lose this individuality of character, and resign the rights of self-government, it becomes a mere branch of a secular system. The head of the state is the head of the church, and exercises, as such, either directly or indirectly, the governing power. Under such a system, ministers of the gospel, are servants of the crown, (*Staatsbeamten*, as they are called in the Prussian laws,) appointed for the instruction of the people in religion, as judges and civil officers are appointed for the administration

of the laws. The church is governed by men appointed by the civil authority, it cannot choose its own officers, make its own laws, or cast out unwholesome members.

However beautiful it may be in theory, to regard the king as the father of a great family ; and as such, bound and authorized, to provide for all its wants, secular and spiritual ; it never can, in the present state of the world, be carried into practice, without either making the state subservient to the church, or the church an engine of government to the state. The former has been the result in Catholic, the latter in Protestant countries.

The evils resulting from this union are obvious, and unavoidable. The church being put into the hands, and under the direction of statesmen, is of course, used for attaining the object which the state, as such, has in view, viz. the temporal well-being of society. They require in its officers, no other qualifications than such as this object demands ; they take cognizance of no offences but such as obviously militate against it. When the church is thus secularized, that the clergy should become worldly, would seem inevitable. Besides this, civil rulers, were they ever so well qualified to exercise the governing power in the church, in many cases, cannot do it without injustice, for in their hands ecclesiastical discipline becomes a secular punishment. To depose a man from the ministry, is often virtually to banish him his country ; to prevent a profligate parent from presenting his child for baptism, is to deprive that child of most of the rights of citizenship. It is next to impossible to preserve either purity of faith or practice, under such circumstances. When the church has once fallen in errors however serious, how is the evil to be remedied ? Should a number of scattered ministers become orthodox and pious, what can they do ? They can preach and write, but having no authority, they cannot stop the tide of irreligious men constantly flowing into the sacred office. They are completely fettered, and weep in silence over the desolations which they cannot re-

store. A free community is a living community, it can throw off its own impurities, and if it fall can rise again.

One of the most striking illustrations of the advantages of self-government in religious societies, is exhibited in the case of the Moravians in Germany. During all the desolating reign of infidelity in that country, they have retained their faith and piety. In some instances, the fervor of religion has declined among them, but the vital principle remained, and the society as a whole, is probably to this day in as favorable a state as any other equal portion of the Christian church. Their settlements, even in their external appearance, from their order and neatness, and the elevated character of the people, are like verdant spots in the desert. And while infidelity prevailed all around them, here the gospel was still preached and loved. Another equally striking example may be cited in the Dissenters of England. I am aware that effects of this nature are seldom attributable to any one cause, but I am persuaded, that among the various causes which combine in the production of the effect now referred to, that of self-government is one of the most important. It is, at least, an important fact, that the freest churches are the purest. In those sections of Prussia, where the church has retained most of its rights, it has retained most of its purity. In the Rhine Provinces, the reformed churches, surrounded by a Catholic population, were allowed by their Catholic sovereigns, to manage their own affairs, and, since their union with Prussia, have retained more or less of their power. Here the influence of infidelity was the least felt, and the soonest thrown off: and here religion is in a more flourishing condition than in any other part of the country. The same may be said with some limitation of several cantons of Switzerland. The clergy of the canton of Basle, are as a body orthodox and pious; a large portion of those in the canton de Vaud, is of the same character. But with regard to Switzerland, it is difficult to

speaking. We are in the habit of regarding it as the land of liberty; but in ecclesiastical affairs, there is a great deal of constraint. In the Catholic cantons no Protestants, until recently, were tolerated, and in those purely Protestant, the laws were equally severe against the Catholics. The form of government in each canton, is peculiar to itself. In most, it is more or less aristocratical, and in all the Protestant cantons, I believe, the magistrates have a dominant influence in the affairs of the church. The same may be said of the free cities of Germany, as Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg; and therefore the decline of religion in such cities, cannot fairly be cited as examples of the decline of independent churches. In the last named city, the evil of magistrates having authority in the church, is deeply felt at the present moment; the clergy have been prohibited from preaching on the points in dispute between the orthodox and the rationalists; permission has been refused to the advocates of the truth to publish on these subjects, and in various ways, the reviving spirit of piety has been repressed and opposed.

This is a deeply interesting subject. The great question whether the church can sustain itself without the aid of the state, has never perhaps been subjected to so fair and extended a trial since the fourth century as at present in our own country. As far as the experiment has hitherto been made, the result is as favorable as the friends of religious liberty could reasonably expect. Two centuries have elapsed since the first persecuted settlers of New-England set their feet upon these shores, to rear a church in all the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. The population of that section of the country has increased from a few individuals to eighteen hundred thousand, and there is now one minister to every thousand souls; a proportion greater than in some of the oldest countries of Europe; and there is doubtless, no equal population upon earth to whom the gospel is administered with greater fidelity and purity. The same may be said of

our own church, and of various sections of our country and denominations of Christians. In estimating the success of this experiment, there are two important circumstances which should be taken into account. The one is the rapid increase of our population. The American churches have had to supply the means of religious instruction, not merely to the regular and natural increase of their number, but to keep pace with a population which doubles itself in twenty-five years. The other circumstance is, that in many parts of our country, the population is so sparse, that to bring the ordinances of religion within the convenient reach of every family, would require one minister to every few hundred individuals. Taking these circumstances into consideration, I think that it may safely be asserted, that quite as much has been accomplished towards supplying the people with religious instruction, as in countries where this duty rests upon their governments, and quite as much as would have been accomplished by any church establishment; and to unspeakably better purpose. Still, the experiment is but in progress, and the eyes of the friends of religion, and of religious liberty, are watching its advance with the most intense anxiety. Every effort made by the free churches in America, to supply the gospel to their destitute brethren, fills their hearts with joy. Nor are they alone in the interest which they take in the state of things in this country. Those who differ from them in opinion on this subject, are watching us too, and often appeal to what they deem the failure of the experiment, in America, of a church standing without the aid of government. The accounts so often published among us, of extensive regions destitute of the means of grace, are produced as evidence of this failure. The amount of good really accomplished, and the greatness of the task imposed on the American churches, they cannot appreciate, and are thus unfortunately led to argue, from our experience, against the expediency of releasing the

struggling church, in their own country. I have heard distinguished men affirm, that if the king of Prussia should withdraw his hand from the church in his dominions, it would fall at once; and that, at the expiration of a century, they did not believe there would remain a trace of Christianity in the land. But can this be so? is the gospel so powerless? must the kingdom of Christ be propped and supported by human power, or fall to the ground? must the church submit to the contamination, unavoidable on her union with the state, or cease to exist? For the honor of Christ and his gospel, let this never be said. But let us, brethren, awake to the full interest and importance of the task to which God has called us. If the sad tale be to be told, in every Christian country, and at every Christian fire-side, (for the interest taken in this subject is well nigh universal,) that the American church has fallen, that the grand experiment has failed, let it not be in consequence of the remissness of the present generation. Our fathers have effected much in this work, and have left the rapidly increasing task to us; and a more sacred duty, a duty more vitally involving the interests and honor of religion, cannot be conceived, than that of supplying the ordinances of the gospel to the rapidly increasing population of our country, without being brought to the sad necessity of resigning liberty for life. For we may rest assured that, if the state support the church, she will govern it. Then, farewell to the purest glory of this Western Hemisphere. America will have failed of her destiny, and left her grand vocation unaccomplished.

II. Permit me now to introduce another subject scarcely less important, as the second point I would mention, in which the mind of an American Christian would be deeply interested from a residence in Europe, viz. *the training of youth in knowledge and religion.*

The comparison between the state of things in our country, and that existing in Europe, respecting the church, is

most decidedly to our advantage; but in reference to the point now brought forward, I am afraid it is the reverse. I shall in a very few words, state the system pursued in Prussia, both because I had better opportunities of learning its character, and because I presume it is at least equal to any other in general use. And first, the schools are divided into three classes; the higher schools or gymnasia, designed for men intended for one of the learned professions; the schools for merchants and higher order of mechanics; and those for the peasantry. Teachers for all these are regularly educated for their business. Those intended for the gymnasia, after having spent seven or eight years in one of these institutions, proceed to the university, where they remain from three to five years, attending the lectures on the branches in which they are to become teachers. Having completed this course, they are subjected to a rigorous examination, which, if they satisfactorily sustain, they are eligible to the office of instructors in the higher schools, commencing with the lower classes and rising according to merit. Those who are designed for the second class of schools, have an entirely different training; for this purpose, there is in each of the ten provinces at least one large seminary. In these institutions the future teachers, are instructed, not only in the branches they are themselves to teach, but also in the art of teaching; the whole object being to prepare and discipline them for their work. It is not until they have completed this course, and have sustained an examination by the proper authorities, that they are allowed to enter upon their duties as instructors. For the preparation of teachers of country schools, for which such a thorough course of discipline is not considered necessary, there are smaller institutions, several in each province, all under the direction of government. These teachers are also examined as to their moral and mental qualifications, before they are allowed to enter even on the lowest grade of elementary instruction. With respect to the mode by which

the schools are supported, it must be remarked that it is different in different cases. The gymnasia, as they are designed for the higher classes of the people, are either supported by their own funds, (for some of them are very extensive establishments which have been in operation for centuries ; the one in Nordhausen being I think, 300 years old) or by the usual tuition fees. The lower schools are supported by tax, where there is no adequate provision already existing; very much as in Massachusetts. The whole country is divided into districts, and the property in each district is assessed for the support of its school. This is the simplest and most efficacious plan. The schools are then not only free, but every parent is required under pain of fine or imprisonment to send his children. This law extends to the Jews, Protestants, and Catholics. If the Jews in any one place be sufficiently numerous, and have property enough, they have schools of their own. If this be not the case, they must send their children to those of the Christians. The Catholics have their own seminaries for the preparation of teachers, and their own schools supported in the same manner, and under the same regulations with those of the Protestants.

As to the course of instruction pursued in these several institutions, my time will allow me to say very little. In the gymnasia, there is a very thorough course, in the ancient languages, in several of the modern tongues, in mathematics, geography, history, &c. The leading features of the system pursued, are, having a great number of teachers, generally in the proportion of one to every ten or fifteen students ; and combining constancy with variety of occupation. During most days of the week, the pupils have from seven to eight exercises, on as many different subjects, passing from one teacher to another. It is in these institutions that the German literati lay the foundation of their future eminence. The course is from five to eight years. In schools of

the second class, the ancient languages are omitted, but most of the other branches are attended to. In those of the third class, only the elementary branches, reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught. In all these schools, music is a regular matter of instruction. But the most interesting feature of this whole system, is, that religion is as regularly and as systematically taught as any other subject. Each class of schools has its regular text-books on this subject; and in all, the history and leading principles, both in doctrines and morals, of the scriptures, are inculcated. The nature of this instruction, depends of course, very much on the individual character of the man to whom it is committed, and it is too often the case, that it embraces little more than the leading facts and moral principles of the Bible, still even this is of immense advantage.

It would be interesting and instructive, did our time permit, to compare in detail the plan now described, with those adopted in different parts of our own country. We should find, I think, with regard to thoroughness of instruction in the higher schools, to the means taken to prepare suitable teachers, and the plan adopted for the support of the schools and securing regular attendance on the part of the children, that we have still much to learn from the experience of older countries. As this is a subject which is so intimately connected with the best interests of men, it demands the attention of all the friends of knowledge and religion.

There is one point suggested by what has been said, worthy of particular consideration. Is it not possible in this country, to have the Christian religion taught in the common schools? The great difficulty is, the clashing views and interests of the different religious denominations; and the principle that the state can in no way interfere on the subject of religion. With regard to the latter, it may easily be gotten over, for the government has nothing to do, either with the selection of the teacher, or with the course

of instruction. This depends on the commissioners of the several districts. If public opinion once be brought to decide for the measure, it can be accomplished ; and in many places where the people are of the same denomination, the more serious difficulty, arising from sectarian jealousies and opinions, may be avoided. But even in districts where the several denominations are nearly equally numerous, cannot this important object be attained ? The various sects are uniting, not only to distribute the Bible, but also to circulate doctrinal tracts ; may they not be induced to unite, in the preparation of religious school books, books in which the historical facts and essential doctrines, in which all evangelical denominations agree, may be taught and inculcated ? If such books could receive the sanction of the ruling bodies of the various sects among us, there would be no difficulty to their being generally introduced. If this cannot be accomplished, cannot at least the Bible be introduced ? Not merely to be read, but regularly studied, as in our Sabbath schools. Experience has taught, that no instrument is better adapted to the education of children. It calls into exercise all their faculties, interests their feelings, and cultivates their moral powers. This truth is so obvious, that in the country of which we have been speaking, men who have no regard for the Bible, as the word of God, on mere philosophical principles, urge its being made the great instrument in the education of the young. If the Bible have all these advantages for calling forth and exercising the faculties of children, it would seem, that nothing short of a dread of its effect in cultivating the moral and religious feelings, could lead to its being thrown aside, and the miserable fables commonly employed, adopted in its stead. How different would be the state of christendom, had Christians taught their children the Bible as faithfully as Mussulmans have taught the Koran.

Unless some plan can be adopted of introducing religious instruction into the common schools, we must consent to

see a large portion of our population growing up in ignorance of the first principles of moral and religious truth. For if this matter be left entirely to parents or pastors, it can be but imperfectly attended to. There will always be a large number of the people, who belong to no denomination and come under the care of none. There is said to be 70,000 of such persons, in the single city of New-York ; and we need not go many miles from our village to find individuals who hardly know that there is a God. What the result will be, of thus neglecting the moral education of the people, it requires no prophetic spirit to foretel. If public virtue be necessary to the existence of free institutions ; if reason and experience teach, that religious knowledge and culture are essential to virtue ; to leave the people destitute of this knowledge and this culture, is to secure the destruction of our civil liberty. Experience has shown, that a free government cannot exist, where the mass of the population is ignorant and immoral, and the term of its continuance amongst us is fixed to the period, when the uneducated and vicious shall constitute the majority of the people. It is enough to contrast the degradation of men who have had no moral instruction in their youth, with the character of those who have been brought up under the influence of the gospel, to have the heart filled with zeal for the extension of the blessings of religious education, even if this world were the only theatre of man's existence. But when we consider that these men, whom we thus desert to ignorance of God and his word, are forming their character for eternity, the importance of this subject is seen and felt to be infinite.

The success which in other countries has attended the efforts to render religious education universal, should encourage us to make the attempt here. So thoroughly is the system, just detailed, carried through in Prussia, that I never met a poor boy selling matches in the streets, (and I made several experiments of the kind,) who could not answer any

common question, on the historical parts of the Old and New Testaments. And one of the school commissioners of Halle, (a town containing twenty-four or twenty-six thousand inhabitants,) told me that a recent investigation led to the discovery of only fifty or sixty children who had hitherto neglected to attend the schools. Do not let us calmly sit still, therefore, and suppose that nothing can be done. If we cannot introduce religious instruction at once, into all the schools in our country, nor throughout a whole state, we may at least, endeavour to effect the object, in our own immediate neighborhoods.

The course we are pursuing in this country, is much the same as that which has been so long pursued in England. They build churches and erect school-houses. Those who choose to seek religious knowledge may find it; but there is no provision made for the instruction of all the people in the principles of Christianity, and the consequence is, that an alarming proportion of them, is left in utter ignorance on the subject. This is the great cause of the dreadful amount of crime in that country. The commitments in England and Wales are four to one in proportion to the population, to what they are even in France, and I presume they are six or eight to one to what they are in Prussia. Brethren, bear this subject in mind, remember how much depends both in time and eternity on the instruction of the young.

There is another subject connected with religious education, which must not be passed over, and that is, pastoral attention to the young. I have received the impression that this is carried to a much greater extent, in some of the continental churches, than it is among ourselves. In the Lutheran church, as you probably know it is customary, that boys at the age of fourteen and girls at fifteen, should be confirmed; that is, be called upon to assume their baptismal vows, and solemnly recognise themselves as members of the church. That there are serious evils attending this usage,

is very obvious, but that much good is effected by the pastoral attention to the young, which it occasions, cannot be denied. The candidates for confirmation each year, are formed into a class or classes, to which it is the Pastor's duty to devote several hours in every week, instructing them in the principles of the gospel and of their own particular church. This course of instruction continues through the year; and as every child must be confirmed, the whole mass of the people, rich and poor, from the king's son to the children of the peasant, are regularly indoctrinated in the christian system. The degree of fidelity with which this duty is performed, depends on the character of the pastor: but it may be remarked that even the Rationalists, in general, retain the use of Luther's catechism and other evangelical formulas in the instruction of the young. I have witnessed few scenes more impressive than the induction of one of these little flocks of the lambs of Christ, into his sacred fold. On the day appointed for this service they came to the church, with their pastor at their head. Their entrance was greeted with a burst of cheerful music, in which all hearts and voices joined. Arranged before the pulpit, the pastor proceeded to explain to them the situation in which they stood. Consecrated to God in baptism, they had been given to the church by their parents; but having now attained an age at which they were capable of acting for themselves; having been instructed in the doctrines and requirements of the Christian religion, and in the faith and discipline of their own church; they were to decide whether they would remain in that church, receive its doctrines and submit to its watch and care. For the satisfaction of those present, their pastor examined them on the history and doctrines of the Bible, received their profession of faith, and solemn assent to be regarded as under the guardianship of the church. They knelt before him, the name and blessing of God was invoked upon them, and they arose in a new relation to the household of faith.

I am not, brethren, appearing here as the advocate of confirmation ; for I am persuaded, that permitting children, and all children thus to grow up into the church as a matter of course, and thus break down the distinction between the church and the world, would more than counterbalance all the good, effected by this regular course of religious instruction. I merely state these facts to call your attention to the subject, and to have the opportunity of inquiring whether sufficient pastoral attention is devoted to the young ? whether something more might not be done, to secure their regular indoctrination in our faith and discipline, and to destroy the indefinite relation in which they now grow up, to the church ? whether they might not be formed into a nursery, to be tended with peculiar care, from which the plants, from time to time might be transplanted into the garden of the Lord ? As this is a subject so immediately connected with Pastoral Theology, I refer you to the solemn lessons, which await you on this point, in a more advanced stage of your course.

III. A third great truth which an observation of the state of European churches, is adapted to impress upon the mind, is, *the intimate connexion between speculative opinion, and moral character.*

There is no sentiment more frequently advanced, than that a man's opinions have little to do with his moral character, and yet there is none more fundamentally erroneous. The fact is, that opinions on moral and religious subjects depend mainly on the state of the moral and religious feelings. Mere argument can no more produce the intimate persuasion of moral truth, than it can of beauty. As it depends on our refinement of taste, what things to us are beautiful, so it depends upon our religious feelings, what doctrines for us are true. A man's real opinions, are the expression of his character. They are the forms in which his inward feelings embody themselves, and become visible. The secret conviction of this truth, is the reason, that the ascription of obnoxious opinions, is always regarded as an asper-

sion on character. Why is the denial of God's existence regarded with horror, by all classes of men, but because it presupposes a heart dead to all the manifestations of his glory in creation, in our own nature, and in his word ? The denial of God's justice is a proof of insensibility to sin ; the rejection of Jesus Christ, of blindness to his moral loveliness. It is therefore, an important truth, that no serious religious error can exist, without a corresponding perversion or destruction of religious feelings.

To prevent misapprehension, it may be proper to remark that while it is asserted, that if a man's feelings be in a proper state, he will embrace and believe the truth as soon it is presented ; it is freely admitted, that a man's opinions may be correct, and yet his moral character corrupt. But in this case, these opinions are merely nominal, they form no part of the intimate persuasion of his soul, and hence, are no expression of his character.

In support of the point we are considering, we might refer to the different systems of religion, throughout the world, and observe their correspondence with the peculiar character of the people who embrace them. The contemplative and effeminate systems of Eastern Asia ; the mixture of loftiness and sensuality in the religion of Mohammed ; the refinement, licentiousness and general disregard of principle in the theology of the Greeks ; the more rigid features of the religion of the early Romans ; or the sanguinary creed of the warlike nations of Northern Europe. Or we might refer to the characteristic traits of the various sects in christendom, and observe how the leading features of each are expressed in their peculiar opinions. Those in whom the imagination predominates, who have liveliness without depth of religious feeling and but little reflection, have a religion of pomp and splendid forms, of fasts and festivals and of easy means of satisfying the conscience. All those in whose systems the sovereignty of God, the helplessness and dependance of man, his depravity and solemn responsibility occupy the

leading parts ; have been distinguished for severity, strictness, separation from the world, depth of feeling and fixedness of purpose : a strong determined character, whose tendency is to make the severer, prevail over the milder features of religion. The Armenian system is the natural expression, of feelings less strongly marked, of less reverence for God, less humiliating views of man, and in general of less prominence and depth of religious character. Those who have no inward necessity for the doctrines of the gospel, no apprehension of God's holiness, no fear of his justice, no adequate sense of sin, need no atoning Saviour, and no sanctifying Spirit, and thus easily satisfy themselves with the doctrines of natural religion. Another proof of this point is, that whenever a change occurs in the religious opinions of a community, it is always preceded by a change in their religious feelings. The natural expression of the feelings of true piety, is the doctrines of the Bible. As long as these feelings are retained, these doctrines will be retained ; but should they be lost, the doctrines are either held for form sake or rejected, according to circumstances ; and if the feelings be again called into life, the doctrines return as a matter of course. The proof of this remark must be sought in ecclesiastical history. Its truth can only be observed, however, where there is freedom of opinion ; where the mind is left to assume its natural form, and adopt opinions, most congenial with its state. When every thing is fixed and immoveable, as in the Catholic church, there will, of course, be little change visible, whatever may actually take place beneath the unvarying surface. But in Protestant countries we see abundant evidence of the correctness of the remark. In Scotland, the doctrines of the church are retained only by those who retain the spirit of the framers of their confession. In Geneva the system of Calvin did not survive the spirit of its author. The same may be said of France, and all parts of Germany. In this latter country the truth of our remark is more observable, because more

violent changes have there occurred than in any other portion of christendom.

After the struggle against infidelity had been sustained in England, it passed over into France and thence into Germany. Here it achieved its greatest triumph. Christianity had well nigh ceased to be even the nominal religion of the land—men began to talk of the introduction of a new Bible—of the abolition of the clergy—and of the very form of the church. To this remarkable event, this distressing fall of so large and important a part of Protestant christendom, the eyes of all interested in religion have been naturally turned, and a general demand made, what could have been the cause of so general and lamentable a defection. Much has been written on this subject, and a thousand causes assigned, while the most obvious has been the least regarded. The simple fact is, that vital religion had been long declining. There seem to be certain cycles, through which almost every church, is more or less regularly passing. During one age, there are many revivals of religion, and a general prevalence of evangelical spirit and exertion; to this succeeds a period of coldness and declension; and to this, either a period of revival or of open departure from the faith. In Germany, at the period of the reformation, there was a general revival of religion; to this succeeded a period of cold orthodoxy brought about principally by perpetual controversy on unimportant subjects. This long period, was but partially interrupted by the revival under Franke and Spener. After which, things relapsed into their former course. The preaching of the gospel was so tiresome and controversial that it could produce little effect upon the people. Practical religion was no necessary requisite for admission into the ministry; and the clergy soon became as little distinguished for piety, as any other class of men. This being the case, their holding or rejecting the doctrines of the gospel, was a mere matter of circumstance. As long as their interest, or standing depended upon their nominal

faith, they retained it ; but as soon as fashion and interest was on the side of rejecting it, they rejected it. Under Frederick the Great, infidelity became the fashion; no opprobrium was attached even to the clergy, declaring themselves superior to the opinions and prejudices of darker ages. They had lost their hold on the doctrines of the gospel and stood ready to be carried away by the first blast that blew.

The fact, that at this juncture, the philologists, Heyne and Wolf, gave a new spring to historical criticism, and commenced distinguishing on critical grounds, the genuine from the spurious parts of the ancient classics ; led Semler and his school to follow the same course with regard to the Bible. And as they had no inward necessity for believing, their fancying, that they discovered critical grounds for the rejection of this or that book of scripture, or the whole, they renounced their faith in the word of God. New systems of philosophy now making their appearance, moulding religion into a hundred different shapes, completed the effect, of turning the already really unbelieving clergy and others, into the ranks of open infidelity. It was not until severe national and private afflictions began to turn the minds of all classes of men towards God, and awaken feelings which found no appropriate objects in the barren systems of philosophical religion, that men began to return to the doctrines of the Bible. And just in proportion as this revival of religion has advanced, has been the return to orthodoxy. Thus as irreligion preceded infidelity, the revival of religion has preceded a return to soundness of faith. It is this vital connexion between piety and truth, that is the great and solemn lesson, taught by the past and present state of the German churches.

This correspondence between opinion and character, is strikingly observable in the various religious parties in that section of the church. The leading parties, are the Orthodox, the Rationalists and the Pantheists. Wherever you find vital piety, that is, penitence, and a devotional spirit, there

you find, the doctrines of the fall, of depravity, of regeneration, of atonement, and the Deity of Jesus Christ. I never saw nor heard of a single individual who exhibited a spirit of piety who rejected any one of these doctrines. There are many who have great reverence for Jesus Christ and regard for the scriptures, but having no experience of the power of the gospel, they have no clear views nor firm conviction of its doctrines ; they are vacillating on the borders of two classes in opinion, exactly as they are in feeling.

The Rationalists as a body, are precisely like common men of the world. In general, orderly in their lives, but without the least semblance of experimental piety. They regard it as mysticism, exaggeration, enthusiasm, or hypocrisy. Some few, from the natural turn of their minds, have something of the poetry and sentimentality of religion, but nothing of vital godliness. In Pantheism there is room and expression for a variety of character. Some men of elevated intellects, discourse much, of the sublimity and grandeur of the infinite, and bow with a sort of adoration, before the living universe. But as this infinite is not a person, is neither moral nor intelligent, this system, while it inflates the imagination, gives no object for the moral feelings : and hence, when men who have much of these feelings fall into its snares, they are in torment until they find deliverance. Others of this class, from the idea, that the all pervading principle, is most completely developed in intelligent beings, and most of all, in those who have come to a consciousness of their identity with this principle, are filled with the most amazing pride ; they are God in the highest state of his existence. These are self-idolaters. Others again, of a different cast, love to feel themselves a part of an illimitable whole, which moves on and must move on, through its vast cycles, without their co-operation or responsibility, and look forward with complacency, to going out, like a spark in the ocean, unnoticed and unremembered in the infinitude of being.

Now, brethren, if these things be so, if a man's religious

opinions are the result and expression of his religious feelings, if heterodoxy be the consequence rather than the cause of the loss of piety, then "keep your hearts with all diligence, for out of them are the issues of life." Remember that it is only in God's light that you can see light. That holiness is essential to correct knowledge of divine things, and the great security from error. And as you see, that when men lose the life of religion, they can believe the most monstrous doctrines, and glory in them ; and that when the clergy once fall into such errors, generations perish before the slow course of reviving piety brings back the truth ; "what manner of men ought you to be in all holy conversation and godliness." Not only then for your own sake, but for the sake of your children, and your children's children, forsake not your God ; who is our God, because he was the God of our fathers. The fate of future ages, rests with every present generation.

Again, beware of any course of life or study, which has a tendency to harden your hearts, and deaden the delicate sensibility of the soul to moral truth and beauty. There are two ways in which this may be done, a course of sin, and indulgence in metaphysical speculations on divine things. The reason, why such speculations produce this effect, is, that the views of truth thus taken are not of its moral nature, and of course produce no moral feeling, but the reverse. Let a man, when contemplating the grandeur of alpine scenery, begin to examine the structure of the mountains, and study their geological character ; what becomes of his emotions of sublimity ? Thus also religious truth, viewed in the general, produces devotion ; metaphysically analyzed it destroys it. Where is our reverence and awe of God, while prying into his essence or scrutinizing his attributes ? Where are our feelings of penitence, when disputing on the origin of evil ? our sense of responsibility when discussing free-will and dependence ? That it may be necessary to attend to these subjects, and get as far as possible defi-

nite ideas respecting them, no one will deny ; but when our habitual views of truth, are of this nature, there is an end of all feeling on the subject. There is another remark, which may here be made. When a man prefers examining the geological structure of a mountainous region, to the contemplation of its grandeur ; he only prefers the acquisition of knowledge to the enjoyment of an elevating emotion ; but as the objects of his examination are external, and have no connexion with the emotions of his mind, his insensibility is no obstacle to his progress. But with regard to moral subjects the case is far different ; the feelings destroyed by metaphysical investigation, are the very objects to be investigated, for their moral quality is their essence. If this be weakened or destroyed, there is nothing left ; and a man in this state is no more qualified to speak on these subjects, than the deaf to discourse on music. This is the reason that metaphysicians so often advance doctrines, which the whole world know to be false, because they contradict the strongest moral feelings of the soul. Will the mass of pious people ever be brought to believe, that God is the author of sin ? that man is not free, and consequently not accountable ? that sin is not a moral evil, but mere imperfect development ? or the still more horrible opinion, that God himself, is merely the blind instinctive principle, which animates and constitutes the universe, of which neither moral nor intellectual qualities can be predicated ? Yet metaphysicians teach all these doctrines. Look around you, brethren, and see if these things be not so. As far as my observation extends, it is the uniform tendency of such speculations to deaden the moral sensibility of the soul. Beware then of unhallowed speculations on sacred subjects. Bring all your doctrines to the test of God's word and of holiness. Go with your new opinions to the aged children of God, who have spent years in close communion with the Father of lights. Propose to them your novel doctrines, should they shock their feelings, depend upon it, they are false and dangerous.

The approbation of an experienced Christian of any purely religious opinion, is worth more, than that of any merely learned theologian upon earth.

Finally, lean not to your own understanding. If there be any declaration of the Bible, confirmed by the history of the church, and especially by the recent history of European churches, it is that "he that leaneth to his own understanding is a fool." When men forsake the word of God, and profess to be wise above that which is written, they inevitably and universally lose themselves in vain speculations. Look at the state of things, when every man is following the light of his own reason. Each boasts that he alone has the truth, and yet each is often a miracle of folly to every man but himself.* True, such men are often men of great intellect; but can mere intellect perceive moral truth? Can man by wisdom find out God? can he find out the Almighty unto perfection? No man knoweth the Father but the Son and he to whom the Son shall reveal him. Submit yourselves, therefore, to the teaching of him, in whom "are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." It is only when thus taught, that you will be able to teach others also.

One word more—keep as you would your hold on heaven your reverence for Jesus Christ. Reverence for the Redeemer of sinners, is the very last feeling which deserts a falling Christian, or a sinking church. When all other evidence, and all other arguments for the Bible had lost their force, this solitary feeling has held up the soul from sinking into infidelity and thence into perdition. When this is lost, all is lost. The soul that is insensible to the glory of the Son of God, is "as a tree twice dead and plucked up by the roots."

* *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.*—CICERO.

Πάσχοιτες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωγράνθησαν.—PAUL.

THE BIBLE,
A KEY TO THE PHENOMENA
OF THE
NATURAL WORLD.

Communicated for the Biblical Repertory.

THE BIBLE, A KEY

TO THE

PHENOMENA OF THE NATURAL WORLD.

The stupendous fabric of the universe, part of which we see, and part of which we ourselves are, cannot but become an object of earnest contemplation, to the inquisitive mind. The great majority of men, it is true, pass through life without reflection. Their intellectual powers are so little cultivated, and they are so much occupied with objects of sense, and in making provision for their immediate and pressing wants, that they never attempt to raise their minds to the contemplation of the wonderful works by which they are surrounded: but accustomed from infancy to behold these objects, they excite no surprise, and seldom call forth a single reflection. There have always been, however, among nations enjoying any degree of civilization, men of minds more cultivated than the rest, and more disposed to investigate the causes of those phenomena, which they continually beheld. These sages, when they looked upon the heavens and the earth, upon themselves and other organized and living beings, have been led to inquire, whence all these things? Have they always existed? or have they been produced? To those who have been conversant with the truth all their lives, it may seem, that it would have been an easy thing, for any rational mind to ascend, at once, from the creature to the invisible Creator: but we cannot readily conceive of the perplexity and darkness which surround

the intellect of men, whom no ray of divine revelation has visited. The reasonings of such men are also impeded and perverted by prejudices, and erroneous opinions imbibed from their forefathers ; and, not unfrequently, pride and other evil passions, influence speculative men to adopt extravagant opinions, for the sake of their paradoxical character, or because they are naturally grateful to the feelings of depraved nature. It is, therefore, not an unaccountable fact, that men, unenlightened by divine revelation, should have fallen into so many egregious errors, respecting the origin of the world and its inhabitants.

A considerable number of those called philosophers, entertained the opinion, that the universe always existed as we now behold it. They observed, that, from age to age, the heavenly bodies move on in their orbits, undisturbed and unchanged ; and that, on earth, the same changes of day and night, of winter and summer, of seed time and harvest, succeed each other, in regular order : and no other power being manifest to the senses but that which operates through all nature, they concluded, that the universe existed without any cause of itself ; and that it ever had existed, and ever would exist, as it now appears.

Some, however, observing in all things, as they imagined, a tendency to dissolution, and perceiving in our globe evidences of a former destruction, adopted the opinion, that the universe contained in itself the principles of its own dissolution and regeneration ;—that, after running through a period of unknown and inconceivable duration, it falls into a chaotic state, in which catastrophe all organized bodies are destroyed, and return to their simplest elements ; but, from this chaos, by degrees, springs up a new order of things, or a renewal of that which before existed ; and thus, while they conceived the universe to be eternal, they imagined, that it is in a state of perpetual change, by a kind of circular progression, which has neither beginning nor end.

Others of those called philosophers, who seem to have paid a more minute attention to the curious structure of organized bodies, were of opinion, that they must, by some means, have been formed or produced ; but, not being able to rise to the conception of a Creator—or what is more probable, not liking to retain the idea of God in their minds—they invented the hypothesis of the eternal existence of the elements of the universe, which, they supposed to consist of atoms, or indivisible bodies of all manner of shapes, and in perpetual motion among each other. These atoms, possessing various affinities, came together in every conceivable form of organized bodies, until, by degrees, and in a long process of time, the universe assumed its present aspect, and vegetables and animals, of every species, were produced by the fortuitous concourse of atoms.

Such a hypothesis might seem too absurd to be seriously entertained by any rational mind, and yet we find among its abettors, men of high and cultivated intellect, among the ancients. It has, however, met with less favour among modern atheists, than the fore-mentioned theories ; although, in point of absurdity, all systems of atheism may be said to stand on a perfect level ; for no folly can be conceived greater, than that which says, “there is no God.”

The idea of the necessity of a cause, wherever we observe what we must consider an effect, is so deeply engrained in human nature, that most men have professed themselves dissatisfied with any system which assigned no cause, or no better cause than chance or necessity, for the existence of all things. Many have been led, therefore, to adopt the opinion, that the universe was God, believing, that whatever distinctness and variety there may seem to be in the world, there existed but one substance or being, of which the heavens and the earth, vegetables and animals, are only so many parts, or rather manifestations. This theory differs from the first mentioned, in this important respect,

that it recognises a great first cause, which is God; but the difference, as to any useful end, is more in appearance, than in reality; for, according to this hypothesis, there is still nothing in existence, besides the universe itself. There is no free, sovereign, independent being, whom we should worship or obey; or in whom we can confide for help or safety. In fact, it differs from blank atheism in nothing, except that it gives the name of God to the universe of creatures; and thus we come to the horrible conclusion, that we and all other things are parts of God.

Although this hypothesis had its advocates among the ancients, yet Benedict Spinoza has the credit of reducing it to a regular system, which he exhibited in the imposing form of mathematical demonstration. As this atheistical theory was published in an enlightened age, and in a Christian country, it might have been expected, that it would attract but few admirers: and, indeed, the number of avowed disciples of Spinozism has been small; yet the same system, new-modelled but not improved, has become a favourite, with a large number of philosophers of the present day, on the continent of Europe, and especially in Germany, under the appropriate name of, Pantheism. And so great is the infatuation of some calling themselves Christians, that they have thought, that this disguised atheism, might be reconciled with Christianity.

A system less absurd than any of the former was, that the world has an all pervading, active, and intelligent soul, which moved and directed all the operations of nature, as the human soul moves and governs the body.

Near akin to this, was the opinion that the planets and stars, were all animated bodies, possessed of the power of moving themselves, and of intelligence sufficient to guide and regulate their own motions.

Many students of the physical sciences, in our times, seem to have adopted a theory similar to that which gives a soul to

the world. They ascribe all effects to *nature*, and to the laws of nature. In all the remarkable contrivances and evidences of design, which abound in the animal and vegetable worlds, they see nothing but the plastic power of nature. The idea of a God, distinct from the world, and from whom nature derives all its powers, seems to have no place in their philosophy.

But sometimes the doctrine of *the soul of the world*, has been combined with that of one supreme God, as in the sublime but mystical theory of Plato.

From what has been said, it is evident, that the human intellect is prone to wander from the truth; and that reason is liable to be perverted, even in matters of the highest importance; and in which the light of evidence seems to us to shine most clearly.

A just and impartial consideration of the universe, cannot fail to lead the sincere seeker of truth to the opinion, that there must exist a great first cause, powerful and intelligent, who has made the world for some particular end. As sound reason would constrain us, if we should find a curiously contrived machine, evidently formed for a useful purpose, to ascribe it to an intelligent artificer, how can we refuse to ascribe the structure of the universe, in which the evidences of design are more numerous and more striking, infinitely, than in any of the works of men, to a wise and powerful architect? If a watch or steam-engine could not be formed by the accidental aggregation of particles, brought together by the winds or waves, how can we suppose, that such a structure as a completely organized animal body, could be formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms? There is in a small part of the human body, more profound wisdom in designing the texture and organization of the parts for the attainment of a particular end, than in all the curious mechanism of man's contrivance. And if we should even suppose, (absurd as it is,) that such an organized system could come into existence without design, how could we account

for the wonderful adaptation of other things, existing in an entirely separate state, to the necessities and conveniences of the animal body? Without light the eye would be useless, but when we examine the mechanism of this organ, and observe that it is constructed upon the most perfect principles of optics, can we for a moment hesitate to believe, that the eye was formed by a designing agent, to receive, refract, and concentrate the rays of light, for the purposes of vision? The same adaption is remarkable, between the air and the organ of hearing; and between the air and the lungs: the same is also true, in regard to the stomach and the food which it so eagerly craves. In these, and a thousand other things, the evidences of design are as strong, as they possibly can be. If we can resist these, no other proofs would answer any purpose, in removing our incredulity.

Reason, then, clearly indicates, that this universe is not God, but is the work of God, and that he must be a being of transcendent perfection. But having arrived at this conclusion, who would not wish to have his faith confirmed, by some clear manifestation of this august Being? If he exists and formed our bodies, and gave us our rational powers, surely he can find out ways by which he can make himself known to us. He cannot, indeed, render himself visible to our bodily eyes, because he is a spirit; but he who indued man with the faculty of communicating with his fellows, by the use of speech, can speak to us in a language which we can understand. Now this very thing he has done, by divine revelation. By inspiring chosen individuals, and attesting their communications, he has plainly informed us, not only that he exists, but that he is the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe; that he is above all, and independent of all; and that all things were produced by his own pleasure, and for his own glory.

That which reason often missed, or mistook, and at best, spelled out with hesitation, the voice of revelation declares, with decisive authority.

Reason may vaunt herself when the discovery is made, but she owes her clearest light and firmest convictions, to the voice of inspiration.

The Bible furnishes the full and satisfactory commentary on the book of nature. With the Bible in our hands, the heavens shine with redoubled lustre. The universe, which to the atheist is full of darkness and confusion, to the Christian, is resplendent with light and glory. The first sentence in the Bible, contains more to satisfy the inquisitive mind, than all the volumes of human speculation. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Here, in a few words, is comprehended the most sublime of all truths;—the production of a universe out of nothing, by the word of the Almighty. If God created the heavens and the earth, then, he existed before they were brought forth—even from eternity; for he who gives beginning to all other things, can have none himself. Before the world was, this august Being existed, independent and happy, in the plenitude of his own infinite perfections. This first word of written revelation teaches us, what reason in her boldest flights could never reach, namely, that the universe sprang from nothing:—not from nothing as its cause, but from the inconceivable working of almighty power, where nothing existed, from which it could be made. None of the heathen sages ever believed such a creation possible. They universally received it as an axiom, that, *ex nihilo nihil fieri*; but here we learn, "That the worlds were framed by the word of God, and that the things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear." This stupendous work, of giving being to so great a multitude and variety of creatures, is often celebrated in the sublime strains of sacred poetry, and in the commanding eloquence of the inspired prophets. "Thus saith the Lord, that created the heavens and stretched them out, he that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it." "Which made heaven and earth, the sea, and

all that therein is." "He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion."

"O Lord God, behold thou hast made the heavens and the earth, by thy great power."

"The Lord which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundations of the earth, and formeth the spirit of man within him."

The apostles tread in the footsteps of the prophets, in ascribing the creation of the universe to God alone, "The living God, which made the heavens and the earth, and all things therein."

"God that made the world and all things therein." "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."

"He that built all things is God."

With such declarations as these, coming from the mouth of God himself, how is the mind enlarged and elevated, in contemplating the heavens and the earth! How grand, how beautiful, how wise, how harmonious, is the universe, when viewed through the medium of divine revelation. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work; day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night teacheth knowledge."

"O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the heavens"—
 "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; what is man that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man that thou visitest him?"

Without the book of revelation, the book of nature would be as a volume sealed; but with this key, we can open its wonderful pages, and receive instruction from every creature of God.

2. But let us descend from the contemplation of the universe, to the consideration of some of its parts. Here is the race of mankind, and multitudes of living creatures, in the earth, the air, and the water ; whence have they proceeded ? What can reason and philosophy answer ? Had man and the other animals, a beginning, or were they from eternity ? If the former, from what cause, and by what steps did they arrive at their present condition ? On no subject has philosophy betrayed her weakness more, than in her speculations respecting the origin of the human race. It would be poorly worth our while to review the absurd theories of ancient and modern philosophers, which more resemble the dreams of the sick, than the sober deductions of reason. One will give to the earth, I know not what prolific power, to produce men and animals ; another chooses to place man, in his origin, on a level with the speechless brutes, from which condition he is supposed to arise by long and assiduous exertion ; acquiring for himself the use of articulate and written language, and inventing, from time to time, all the arts which now minister to the comfort of civilized life. But such theories are too absurd for refutation. The idea of the production of animals or vegetables, by what was called equivocal generation, that is, without progenitors, or organized seeds and roots, has long since been exploded. Experiments the most decisive have demonstrated the falsehood of the notions, entertained by the ancients, of the generation of animated beings from mere corruption. The men and animals, now on the earth, belong to a series reaching back to eternity ; or, they were formed, and placed on our globe, by an almighty Being. Let us then, for a moment, look at the theory which assigns to man an existence, without beginning. While the individuals die, the species is immortal. If such a hypothesis does not do violence to common sense, it would be difficult to say what does. Each individual is dependent, and yet the whole series of indivi-

duals, independent. The absurdity and contradiction of such a theory, is only concealed by the darkness of eternity. By running back until we are overwhelmed with a subject which our minds cannot grasp, we are apt to lose sight of the unreasonableness of a supposition, which on a limited scale, every one can clearly see. As if one should say, here is a chain suspended, consisting of a thousand links, each one depending on the next above it; could such a chain of a thousand links remain suspended, without any thing to support it? To such a problem, every child would give the correct answer. The thing is manifestly impossible. Well, suppose the number of links be increased to a hundred million, could the chain support itself any better, than when it consisted of a thousand, or even ten links? Certainly not; would be the answer of every person of common sense; and such a person would be apt to say, the more links there are in the chain, the more support does it require, seeing its tendency to fall will be in proportion to its weight. But then, suppose the links so increased, that our minds can no longer conceive of the number, will such an increase, however great it may be, render a support less necessary? The answer ought be as decisively as before, in the negative. We have seen that the increase of the number, while within the limits of our conception, did not lessen the necessity for a supporting power, and why should such an increase as goes far beyond our power of imagination be supposed to have this effect? The idea of a series of men without beginning, and without any Creator, to give them being, is one of the greatest absurdities which can be conceived.

Besides, when we consider the number of men; when we trace their history;—when we reflect upon their small advancement in the arts and sciences; and how recent the most useful inventions are; how can we, unless we renounce our reason, believe, that mankind have existed on this globe from eternity? The thing is impossible. The only reasona-

ble hypothesis, therefore, is, that the human race, together with the various species of animals and vegetables, had a beginning; and that they were created by a wise and omnipotent Being, by whose care and sustaining power, they are still preserved.

But man feels too little satisfied with his own reasonings, to rest contented with such conclusions, as he can himself deduce. He wishes to see the face, or hear the voice, of his great Creator. He wants an explicit declaration from the mouth of his Father in heaven, assuring him of the truth of his own reasonings; and authorizing him to claim the relation of a creature, formed by the power and goodness of God.

Such a desire of divine instruction, is neither sinful nor unreasonable, in creatures situated as we are. Who would not wish to know his own earthly father? And who would like, on such a subject, to be left to reasonings founded on abstract principles? But how much more interesting is it, for us to know our heavenly Father, to whom we owe our very being, with all its faculties and capacities? Now this reasonable desire, the great Creator has condescended to gratify. He has, in the revelation which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, informed us, not only that he is our Maker, but has given us most particular information, of the time and circumstances of man's creation. After the heavens and the earth, and beasts, fishes, and birds, were formed; in short, after all things on earth were created, God, speaking in the glorious council of his own being, said, "Come let us make man in our own image, and after our own likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth."—"So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him." "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living

soul." "And the Lord God said, it is not good that the man should be alone, I will make an help-meet for him." "And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam; and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man made he a woman, and brought her unto the man; and Adam said, this is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man."

I have, somewhere, met with an account of an infidel, more ingenious than wise, who proposed to put the Mosaic history to the test, by examining whether man was deficient of a rib, in one of his sides. It would have been as reasonable, to have examined, whether every male descendent of Adam had the scar of the wound, made in the side of the first man. If Adam had remained, all his life, destitute of the rib which was taken away, why should it be supposed that this defect should be transmitted to his posterity? But he laboured under no such defect, for the opening made was closed up with flesh instead of that which was taken away. The rib was not taken on account of any difficulty to obtain materials, but to show that a man and his wife were one, and that a man should ever cherish his wife, as his own flesh. The word here translated *rib*, properly means, *a side*; for aught that appears, the whole side of the man might have been taken, to form the woman; but this is a matter of no consequence.

Infidels have been fond of turning this simple and beautiful history, of the formation of the first man and the first woman, into ridicule; but if man had a beginning, and was created by the Almighty, what account could be imagined more natural and reasonable, than this? Let the scoffer produce his own hypothesis, and subject it to the test of examination—but he has none. He laughs at the Bible history, and at the same time has nothing to answer as a substitute.

But to men of sober minds, who wish to be acquainted with their own origin, this narrative is most satisfactory and instructive. We know that man must have had a beginning, and consequently a Creator; but reason could not inform us how, or in what circumstances, he commenced his existence: *that*, therefore, which we wish to know, and need to know, is distinctly revealed, and plainly recorded in the Bible. Man, instead of being from eternity, is of yesterday;—instead of springing, like a mushroom from the putrid earth, he came from the forming hand of the great Creator; instead of being at first an ape or ourang outang, he was made in the likeness, and after the similitude of God. The Bible, then, explains to us, our own origin, and the origin of all creatures. It teaches that man was made out of the clay of the earth, but this clay was wrought into shape, and wonderfully and fearfully organized, by a divine hand.

3. The physical history of man exhibits some very remarkable phenomena; among which, none have attracted the attention of the inquisitive so much, as the striking variety, in the complexion, hair, size, and figure of the species, in different countries. Of complexion we find every shade of colour from white, to sooty black; and of hair from the silken or flaxen locks of the North of Europe, to the crisped and curled wool of the guinea-negro. In the formation and prominence of the nose, lips, and cheeks, there is also a remarkable difference in different nations. These striking and numerous varieties have led some philosophers to adopt the opinion, that mankind are not descended from one stock; but that originally, there must have been parents, corresponding with the several classes of men. It is an obvious objection to this theory, that the several complexions of mankind are not distinctly marked, but run into each other, by imperceptible shades; so that, if we suppose more species of men than one, we know not where to stop. If every considerable variety must be the foundation of a distinct

species, we must adopt the hypothesis, that originally, God created a multitude of human beings, of different complexions.

It is also a fact unfavourable to this hypothesis, that there are striking varieties in complexion, hair, &c. among those known to have proceeded from one stock. In the same nation, some whole families or tribes are distinguished by fair hair and a ruddy complexion; while others are equally remarkable for dark complexion and black hair and eyes. These varieties in the same nation are known also to be transmitted from father to son, for many generations. But we are unable to account for this variety; and if such a difference may take place, when the external circumstances are nearly similar, why may not the greater varieties of the human species be owing to the great difference of climate and other circumstances, of the nations of the earth?

Since a more accurate knowledge has been obtained of the numerous tribes inhabiting the islands of the great South Sea, some very interesting facts have been brought to light, respecting the origin of these insulated savages. The information collected by Dr. Prichard and published in his *PHYSICAL HISTORY OF MAN*, goes far to prove, that men who have at a remote period, sprung from the same stock, may so diverge from each other, in features, complexion, hair, &c., that they form distinct classes, and seem to be as widely apart from each other as almost any of the differing tribes of men. The identity of the origin of some of these islanders, whose appearance is so dissimilar, is ascertained by the radical sameness of their language; and it is a thing unknown in the history of savages, to change their vernacular tongue. It is manifest, therefore, that there are natural causes in operation, whether we understand what they are or not, sufficient to produce all the varieties observed in the human species.

The diversity of features and complexion in the Jews,

who have long resided in widely different climates, and who it is known do not intermix with other people, affords a strong confirmation of the same truth.

It is also as remarkable as it is obvious, that, for the most part, men of a certain complexion are found in a particular latitude, unless they have been recently removed from their own country. We do not find the black skin and crisped hair in high latitudes ; nor the fair complexion and light-coloured hair, under the equator. From the first glance, therefore, it would seem, that there is some connexion between climate and the complexion. Whether a difference of climate is sufficient of itself to account for these varieties, need not be determined. There may be other causes combined with this, some of which may be unknown to us. Animals carried from the temperate regions, far to the North, become white, and their fur becomes much thicker and warmer. The final cause of this change is manifest, and indicates the wisdom and goodness of the great Creator, but we know not how to account for it. The fact is certain, but the process of nature by which it is brought about is concealed ; at least, it has not yet been discovered. Now, there may be, in the constitution of man, a principle which accommodates itself to different climates, for purposes equally important. Indeed it is a well known fact, that black people can endure a tropical sun, much better than white men.

The analogy derived from other animals and vegetables, also, forbids the multiplication of the human species. The changes produced in the different species of animals, which can live in climates widely different, are as great, and in some, much greater, than in the human species. Take, for an example, the canine species. How great the difference between the large mastiff, and the diminutive lap-dog. These varieties in animals of the same species, extend not only to their size, colour, and shape, but in a very remarkable degree, to their instincts.

Seeing then, that this is the common law of animal nature, why should we expect that the physical nature of man should be exempt from changes, induced by a diversity of climate? And when we observe, that the varieties of the human race have a manifest relation to the climate of the respective nations, the conclusion, upon all just principles of natural science, must be, that the human species is one.

In all cases, where there is a difference of species, there is a marked difference in the internal structure of the body; but among the different tribes of men, no such diversity has been observed, as can be the foundation of a diversity of species. The most exact anatomical dissections have discovered no permanent parts or contrivances, in one nation, which are not found also in all others. They all have the same bones, the same joints, the same system of nerves, the same number, use, and position of muscles, the same blood-vessels, glands, and digestive organs. Not only is the external appearance of the parts the same, but the interior texture and constituent particles composing the respective parts of the human body, are the same in the white man, as in the black, the olive, the red, or the yellow.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that all men have the same external senses, and the same bodily appetites, the same instincts, the same susceptibility of forming habits, and the same natural passions and desires. Those things in the constitution of man which have no resemblance in other species of animals, are found in all the nations of the earth. The risible faculty, and the faculty of weeping; and especially the possession of articulate speech, all serve to prove, the identity of the human species. And if, from the body and its functions, we ascend to the mind, here we find the same original faculties, in all the varieties of the human race. We observe in all, not only perception, consciousness, and memory, of which the inferior animals seem to partake, but the power of reasoning; the faculty

of imagination ; the power of association and abstraction ; and what is more decisive still, the moral sense, of which there is no vestige in the brutes ; and the faculty of taste ; for all men perceive a difference between right and wrong and feel moral obligation ; and all men have some sense of beauty and deformity. Moreover, all men are capable of improvement, and those nations which are now the most learned and refined, were once among the most barbarous of the human race.

This perfect similarity in mind and body is sufficient to lead all impartial men to the conclusion, that the human race are all descended from one pair, and that the varieties are accidental ;—the effect of a variety of causes, all of which we are unable to explore.

Some philosophers, have, however, thought themselves justified, in considering men of different species, not so much from the variety in their complexion and external appearance, as from the different degrees of flatness or rotundity, in the skulls of different nations. On this ground, the learned Blumenbach, has reduced the whole human race to five classes or species. But in the first place, the examination of human skulls has not been sufficiently extensive to furnish correct data for such a classification ; and in the next place, if the difference exist, it affords no philosophical reason for supposing an original diversity of species. The causes which have operated other changes, may as easily have produced a difference in the mere form of the skull : and those who give credit to the discoveries of the craniologists, will find no difficulty in accounting for any varieties which are found, in the skulls of men of different tribes.

Some time since, a radical difference of intellect, was insisted on, as a criterion to determine a difference of species : but since our acquaintance with the most degraded and stupid of the human race has become more accurate ; and especially, since we have witnessed the improvements

which these are capable of, and the rapid advancement of some of them, in knowledge and civilization, the whole ground of this opinion is taken away.

There is another criterion of the identity of species, which by some naturalists has been considered decisive. It has been found, that although animals of different species may be made to propagate a mongrel breed, their offspring are, for the most part, barren, and are seldom known to propagate. But the various classes of men mingle as freely and propagate the species with as much facility, as people of the same tribe. Of late, however, some doubt has been expressed respecting the correctness of the fact first stated, on which the whole argument rests. It is alleged, that sufficient experiments have not been made on the subject of the natural want of fertility in mules and other hybrids; and that, as far as experience goes, they are found to be fruitful in as many cases, as they are barren. Leaving, therefore, the degree of barrenness in such animals in doubt, it is clear, that no new species, capable of continuing itself by propagation, has been formed, by the union of animals of different species, and that there exists a natural obstruction, which does not exist in the case of men of the different classes.

But why might not a number of pairs of the same species, or exactly similar in parts and powers, have been produced, as well as one? To which we answer, that although the thing is possible, yet sound philosophy never resorts to such a supposition. Naturalists always go on the principle that more causes of the phenomena of nature than are sufficient, are not to be admitted, and where every effect can as well be accounted for by supposing one original pair, as by many, the hypothesis of more than one, ought, on general principles, to be rejected.

Having seen that reason itself leads us to believe that all the various nations of men are derived from one stock, and

form but one species, it cannot but add strong confirmation to our belief, that the Sacred Scriptures clearly inform us, that when God created man upon the earth, he created them male and female ;—one man, and one woman—from whom proceeded all the nations of the earth.

The idea which some have entertained, that there were men before Adam, is destitute of all shadow of proof. The apostle Paul, in his discourse before the Senate of Areopagus, explicitly declares, what reason and revelation unite in teaching, to be the truth. “And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” One word from the inspiration of God, goes farther to establish our minds in the belief of the truth, than volumes of arguments, depending merely on the fallible reason of man.

The Bible teaches us that every man of every tribe and of every colour, whether his skull be flat or prominent, is our brother, and has a claim upon us for all the kindness and beneficence which it is in our power to show him. The same God is the Father of us all ; and the same man is our common earthly father ; and we are all rapidly tending to the same judgment, and to the same eternity.

But if any should, after all, be of opinion, that the diversity among men cannot be accounted for by natural causes ; yet it does not follow that the Mosaic history is false, or that there are several species of men, entirely distinct from each other. At some period of the history of man, for some special reason, the Governor of the universe may have given a distinctive colour to one or more families of the earth. And some believers in the Bible are so fully impressed with this idea, that they have undertaken to affirm, that we have an intimation of this very thing, in the sacred history. While some, however, would refer the black colour of the skin to the mark set upon Cain, (which is irreconcilable with the history of the deluge,) others, with more probability, refer it to the curse upon Canaan, the son

of Ham. As his posterity were doomed to be the servants of servants, it is thought that some peculiar mark was set upon them, which, it is presumed, was the dark colour of the skin, and the crisped and wooly hair. And in confirmation of this opinion, they allege, that the black people are the descendants of Ham, and that they are the slaves of all the world, until this day.

While I am willing to admit, that God might, for reasons unknown to us, have miraculously changed the complexion and features, of a part of the human race; I must think, that the idea that the black colour was inflicted as a disgrace and a curse, is a mere prejudice. Why should not the white colour be considered as a mark of God's displeasure? for, no negro from the burning sands of Africa, can appear more shocking to the inhabitants of northern regions, than the white man does to the people of the interior of that continent.

It seems, moreover, to be a prejudice without foundation, that the colour of the whites was that of the first man. Much the larger part of the inhabitants of the earth, are of a complexion nearly midway between the two extremes. Is it not, therefore, much more probable, that our first parents were red men, or of an olive or copper colour? And this opinion derives some support from the name of the first man; for the radical signification of *Adam* is *red*. And if this be assumed as a fact, then it will be much easier to account for the various complexions of men, from natural causes, than if we suppose that either white or black was the original complexion.

But from what has been said, it will be seen, that no valid argument against the truth of the Bible can be derived from the variety, in the human species; whether that variety can be accounted for by natural causes, or not.

Note.—Other observations, omitted for want of room, will be deferred to some other occasion.—A.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN PRUSSIA.

The relation in which church and state stand to each other, and their reciprocal duties, is one of those difficult points, on which there has always been great diversity of opinion. One theory would represent the church, contemplating as she does, the moral and religious culture of men, and divinely appointed for the attainment of this object, as thereby so far exalted above the state, that the latter is bound, not only to render her all necessary aid, but also, to conform all its own movements to her directions. To this subordinate condition had the Romish church reduced almost all the governments of Europe, during the middle ages. Another theory, on the other extreme, regards the state, as designed to promote the attainment of all the objects, for which men are sent into the world, and consequently considers the church, only as an instrument in its hands, for the accomplishment of one of its multifarious purposes. A third, considers them as distinct institutions, yet having so many objects and interests in common, as to render it necessary, that they should be under one common head, and that the right of self-regulation, on the part of the church, should be restricted to very narrow bounds. A fourth, by proposing to the state no other object, than the temporal well-being of society, and supposing that the moral and religious interests of men, can be best promoted by an institution designed expressly and exclusively for that purpose, regards the church and state as essentially distinct, both as to their ends and the means of their attainment; and requires, that each should independently pursue its object, by any means not inconsistent with the rights of the other.

In point of fact, whatever theory may be invented to account for, or defend it, the whole power in the church in Prussia, and most other parts of Protestant Germany, is in the hands of the state ; and has been so from the period of the reformation. The church in that country, has never enjoyed a separate and independent organization. In the unavoidable confusion, consequent on the disruption of former ties, at the time of the reformation, the power which had been previously exercised by the Catholic Bishops, was assumed without resistance by the Protestant Princes, who have retained it ever since. In England where the Bishops took part in the reformation, the previously existing organization of the church, was in a great measure retained ; in France and other places, where both government and Bishops opposed it, the church was formed into an independent society ; but in Germany, the Princes taking part in the work, felt authorized to assume the helm, which the church dignitaries had abandoned. The Germans have quietly acquiesced in this state of things, for more than three centuries. Recently, however, this subject has called forth a great deal of attention, and numerous works have been published, discussing the various questions connected with ecclesiastical government, and the rights of the church.

The attempt of the king of Prussia, to introduce a new liturgy into all the Lutheran and Reformed churches (now united under the name "Evangelical"), has been one of the principal means of exciting this interest. As early as 1798, the present king appointed a commission of Lutheran and Reformed clergymen, for the purpose of forming a new book of prayer. Political events, however, turned the attention of the government to other subjects ; and the matter was dropped. In 1814, this commission was renewed ; but before any result of their labors was made known, a new liturgy was introduced in the King's chapel and garrison church in Potsdam, and in 1821 another was published, for the whole

Prussian army. An edition, somewhat enlarged and altered, was published in 1822, designed, in the first instance, for the court-church in Berlin. The King, however, expressed in a cabinet order, his *particular wish*, that it might be adopted by all the superintendents and pastors, throughout the kingdom. The majority of the clergy declared themselves averse to its adoption, and desired that a synod should be called, to take the matter into consideration, before any decisive measures were taken. In 1823, some further alterations were made; and in 1824, the clergy were called upon to answer, with a simple yes or no, whether they would receive the new *agenda* or not. The majority answered in the affirmative; the minority, however, was considerable, and from the character of many of the men, of whom it was composed, of no little weight. The clergy of Berlin, supported by the magistracy of the city, were particularly strenuous in their opposition. The government became now more urgent, and such was the force of hope or fear, on the minds of those who were originally opposed to the measure, that in 1825 it was found, that of the 7782 evangelical churches of Prussia, 5343 had consented to receive the new liturgy. When this result was known, the government required of all the clergy, either to adopt the new form, or to confine themselves exclusively to such as had been previously in use in their several churches; and not to allow themselves, the liberty of using what form they pleased, or none at all. This called forth an earnest protest, on the part of the clergy of Berlin, (at least of twelve of their number,) in which the objections to the new agenda, and the manner of its introduction were forcibly stated.

The government now proceeded to more decisive measures, and ordered that no clergyman, who should be appointed to any congregation, where the new liturgy had been introduced, should be confirmed in his appointment, unless he bound himself to adopt it; and if it had not been previously

used, to endeavour to secure its introduction. This induced some of the clergy in Berlin, to demand, that either the reception of the agenda should be left optional, or that the union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, should be dissolved; in order, that the former, at least, whose mode of conducting the public worship had been sanctioned by former sovereigns, might be allowed to maintain their peculiar usages. No attention was paid to this representation, and so powerful was governmental favor, that in the fall of 1826, six sevenths of the clergy, had submitted to the will of the king. The opposition of the people, in some places, however, especially in the Rhine provinces, was so decided, that the congregations threatened to forsake the church entirely, if the pastors should introduce the new liturgy.

This opposition has proceeded from men of all religious parties, and been supported on very various grounds; on the character of the book itself; on the manner of its introduction; and on a disinclination to be tied down to any form. The most distinguished advocates for the introduction of the new *agenda*, were Augusti and Ammon, and its most celebrated opposers Schleiermacher of Berlin, and Nitzsch of Bonn. The objections, founded on the character of the book, though numerous, were of minor importance, as it is formed on the model of the ancient liturgies, and is admitted to be really evangelical. The essential doctrines of the gospel, especially those, of the sinfulness of men, of the atonement and the trinity, are prominently presented. The mere faults of arrangement, and of due proportion between its several parts, would not have called forth so general and serious a resistance. No part of the contents of the book, gave more offence, than the oath, which it required should be taken by all ministers, at their ordination. This oath, bound them, not only to fidelity to the symbolical books of the church, but also to allegiance to the king, as their sovereign, and *supreme Bishop*. They were required to swear,

that they would defend the King and his rights, with life and property, and that they would disclose, at once, to the proper authorities, any thing hostile to the government, which should come to their knowledge. This wounded the feelings of the better part of the clergy, exceedingly, as it degraded them, in some measure, to the rank of official spies. Besides this, many of them could not, and would not, recognize the king as the supreme Bishop of their church.

The main ground of opposition, however, was, that this liturgy proceeded from the king, and that in virtue of his office as Bishop, he claimed the right of changing at pleasure, the forms adopted in public worship. Those who denied the authority of the government, thus to interfere in the internal concerns of the church, were very glad to have the matter brought to a discussion, in hopes that it would lead to a recognition, on the part of the government, of the right of self-government in the church. Calling public attention to this subject, and exciting a spirit of investigation into the grounds of the power so long exercised by the Protestant sovereigns in Germany, over the church, has been one of the most beneficial results of this controversy. Those who have espoused the cause of the King, and endeavoured to prove his right, not only to regulate the forms of worship, but to exercise ecclesiastical power, legislative as well as executive, have proceeded on one or other of the three following grounds. First, that on the principle *cujus regio est, ejus est religio*, this right is an essential part of the sovereignty with which the monarch is invested. This is the ground taken by Augusti, who endeavors to show, from the example of the heathen Kings and Emperors of Rome; from Numa downward, that the regulation of the affairs of religion was vested in the hands of the civil ruler; and that these Emperors, long after the introduction of Christianity, continued to exercise the office of Pontifex Maximus. To this it is answered, that no argument, as to the relation in

which the Christian church stands to the state, can be derived from the power of heathen Emperors in matters of religion, since these Emperors, by uniting two offices, exercised two distinct kinds of power, as the very assumption of the title of Pontifex Maximus proves. But this office the Christian church has never conferred on civil rulers, however frequently it has been usurped and exercised. It is further objected, that, it is not true, that, after the union of the church with the state, the power was yielded to the civil authority; the history of those ages proves, that the church by her presbyters, bishops, and councils, retained the governing power in her own hands, in the great majority of instances. In the time of the reformation, the symbolical books, both of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, clearly maintain the principles of religious liberty, and deny the right of the state to regulate the affairs of the church. Neither is it conceivable, that such men as the reformers, would ever have sanctioned a principle which, as the opposers of this system justly remark, would make the Turkish Sultan the head of the Greek churches throughout his dominions. The assumption of the title of Bishop, by the German Princes, would also prove, that, even in their own estimation, it was not in virtue of their civil authority, they had a right to the ecclesiastical power, which they have so long exercised. In all cases too, where these Princes have become Catholics, they have at once given up their control of the Protestant church, (the recent case of the Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, forms, perhaps the only exception,) without dreaming of divesting themselves of any portion of their authority as sovereigns.

A second ground on which this authority of the Princes, is defended, is that of "Devolution;" that is, that at the time of the reformation, all the rights and powers of the Catholic Bishops, devolved on them, when the Bishops, first in fact, and afterwards by treaty (at the peace, 1555,) relin-

quished all claim, to the *jurisdictio ecclesiastica*, over the Protestants. That in point of fact, the Princes did assume the jurisdiction which the Bishops had renounced, cannot be doubted, and in their hands it has since remained. But that the church ever recognised the propriety of this assumption, cannot be proved. It is true, that in the disorder incident on the peculiar circumstances of the times, Luther, and others of the reformers, did call upon the electors, to supply the deficiencies of a regular organization of the Protestant church, and to take the necessary measures for the preservation of peace and order. But the government seldom acted, without consulting the leading theologians, or contrary to their suggestions. And where the ruling authorities took no part in the reformation, as in France, Austria, and elsewhere, the churches organized themselves. It is obvious that the reformers, in throwing off the authority of the Pope, could never have intended to place the church in the same state of subjection to the arbitrary authority of their civil rulers; they merely called on them in the time of emergency, as the most important members of the rising communion, to take the lead in reducing things to order. Accordingly, all measures were adopted, with the advice and consent of the clergy, or the leading members of their body. The elector Moritz replied to the Emperor in reference to the Interim, that he could do nothing, *nisi consultis prius Doctoribus suis*. The Landgraf Phillip of Hesse called a regular synod, by which all the steps regarding the reformation, were directed. Although the method of procedure, was at this time various, the Princes in some instances, acting on their own authority, in others, at the request of the clergy, it is clear that no solid foundation can be found, in this admission, for the power which they have continued to exercise, when the necessity for so doing no longer exists.

A third ground, therefore, which has been assumed, as the

foundation of this authority, is, that the power really vested in the church, has, by her consent, been transferred to the civil rulers, as her organs and representatives; and consequently that all they do, is done by the church, inasmuch as it is done by representatives, appointed by herself. If it be asked, who delegated this power to the civil rulers? it is answered, either, the theologians as the representatives of the church; or the church herself, by her tacit consent to its assumption. But what right had the theologians to make any such transfer, even admitting the fact,—and is this act of theirs binding for all future generations? But the fact itself is denied, and appeal is made to the whole tenor of the standards of the German churches; approved, and in many cases, signed by these Princes themselves, which proves, that neither the church nor its leaders, ever intended to make their civil governors, the perpetual and supreme rulers of the church.

The power, therefore, which the German Princes have so long exercised in ecclesiastical affairs, is regarded by a large portion of the most enlightened of the clergy, as an unwarrantable usurpation. They feel that they are held in unworthy bondage, and (to use the language of one of the recent writers on this subject) look with envy to the condition of the Moravians, and even of the Jews. The King of Würtemberg has generously offered, to allow the “Evangelical church,” throughout his dominions, to exercise all the rights of self-government; reserving for himself no other control over it, than such, as the government exercises over all corporate bodies, which is purely negative. Strange to tell, the clergy have as yet taken no advantage of this act of emancipation. This, no doubt, has arisen from the want of clearness and unanimity of opinion, as to the manner in which the church should be organized. It is probable that it will not be long, however, before the church in that part of Germany, at least, will enter on the exercises of her long neglected rights.

It may be interesting, to state here the outlines of the system of church government, at present in force in Prussia, which in most of its essential features, is common to the other Protestant sovereignties in Germany.

This system is founded upon the principle, that the King is rightfully vested, with full powers for the government of the church. How far this authority, in theory, might be made to extend, it is difficult to say; that he has no right to change the doctrinal standards of the church, would probably be admitted on all hands; but short of this, there seems to be little, which is not regarded as lying within the legitimate sphere of his control. The extent, however, of the King's authority as Bishop, will be best learned, from the powers vested in the several organs, by which he administers the ecclesiastical government. These are

1. *The Minister of worship and public instruction, and his council.*

The minister himself is a layman, and his council is composed of clerical as well as lay-members. This department of the government is the supreme ecclesiastical authority. It has the general oversight and direction of every thing, pertaining to religion and education. To it, all other ecclesiastical bodies, are subordinated, and are required to observe its ordinances. It is the depository of the King's prerogatives, in reference to the church. Its supervision and authority extend not only to ecclesiastical affairs, but to all literary institutions—the universities, gymnasia, learned and elementary schools, all scientific and literary societies, &c. &c. This body can in most cases decide finally, on all measures relating either to church or school affairs. With respect to some points, however, the immediate consent of the King is necessary. As 1, The reception of funds, intended as endowments for any purpose, connected with religion or education; or changing the destination of funds given for any such purpose. 2, The decision of the question, whether

any new sect, that may arise, is to be tolerated. 3, In the appointment of the superintendents, the first preacher in the places of the King's residence, the members of the academies, the ordinary professors in the universities, and the directors of the gymnasia. In the appointment of Catholic Bishops and Vice-Bishops, the consent of the state chancellor must be obtained.

II. The second ecclesiastical body, is the *Consistorium*.

In the capital of each province, there is a body of which the over-President of the province is the head. This body is called a consistorium. Its members may be either clergymen or laymen, and are appointed by the government. This is the governing body of the evangelical churches within its limits, and has the oversight of all literary institutions, with the exception of the universities, which stand immediately under the department of the ministry, just mentioned.

To the consistorium belongs, therefore, 1, the care of calling together synods, when thought necessary; the supervision of them when convened, confirming, correcting, and reporting to the government, their decisions. 2, General oversight of public worship, especially in relation to the doctrines taught and the modes adopted. 3, The examination of candidates, *pro facultate concionandi*, and *pro ministerio*. 4, Confirming the appointment of clergymen, to stations in the gift of the King, the appointment itself resting with another body. 5, The consistorium nominates, to the ministry, the superintendents, who are to be appointed, within its province. 6, The inspection of the theological seminaries, and the appointment of teachers in them. 7, The oversight of the conduct and official deportment of the clergy. 8, Direction of all processes against the clergy, for official offences. It can also suspend a clergyman from his office, for such offences, and report him as worthy of deposition to the higher authorities. 9, The

arranging of church festivals, and days of humiliation and prayer, under the direction of the ministry; and the appointment of the texts, on which the sermons, on such days, are to be preached. 10, The censorship of the press, in reference to all works, bearing on religion or education.

The consistorium has, also, in virtue of its general oversight of every thing pertaining to the education of the people, various important duties to perform; as 1, The examination of the laws and regulations of schools and private institutions of learning. 2, The revision of the school regulations in general, the correction of abuses, and supplying deficiencies. 3. The examination of school books, and the right of deciding which are to be rejected, of those already in use; and of preparing and introducing new ones. 4, The government of the seminaries for the education of teachers. 5, The examination of school teachers. This examination is, however, commonly held by officers appointed particularly for this purpose. 6, The oversight, direction, and revision of all the "learned schools;" and the appointment, promotion, discipline, suspension, and dismissal of their teachers. In regard to the rectors, higher teachers, and directors, the consent of the ministry must be obtained, in reference to all the acts of the consistorium.

III. *The Deputation for ecclesiastical and school affairs, in the several governmental circles.*

The kingdom of Prussia is divided into twenty-eight circles; each of these has its president and a body of counselors, called collectively the "Government." This body is divided into two parts; one of which has all the general affairs of the circle, under its direction; the other only the finances. The first of these divisions, together with the "clerical and school counsellors," constitutes the third governing body in the Prussian church.

The subjects which come under the direction of this "Deputation", are in part the same with those which belong

to the province of the consistorium. In such cases, it is through the "Governmental Deputation", that matters of business, are brought before the former body. With respect to many subjects, however, the Deputation is competent to give a final decision. To it belongs 1, The exercise of the King's patronage, that is, the appointment of all the pastors and teachers, to places within the gift of the King. Its nominations, however, require the confirmation of the consistorium. 2, It confirms the nominations of pastors and teachers, made by private patrons. Should any private patron twice nominate an unfit subject, for any place, the right of appointment devolves on the "Deputation". 3, It examines and installs the clergy, when commissioned so to do by the consistorium. 4, It has the oversight of the conduct of the clergy; it receives, therefore, the reports of the superintendents; and from it, pastors must seek permission of absence from their charges. 5, It maintains the discipline and order of the church. 6, It has the direction and oversight, generally, of the churches, of public, private, and elementary schools, and charitable institutions. 7, It has the charge and administration of all church and school property. 8, It has the oversight of all literary institutions and societies, with the exception of the universities and academies.

IV. *The Superintendents.*

The superintendents, as mentioned above, are appointed immediately by the King, on the nomination of the consistorium.

They are the organs of the consistorium and "Governmental Deputation," to them, therefore, all the ordinances of these bodies are directed, and by them communicated to the clergy and teachers of their diocese (or *Ephorie*). They have further, the oversight of the doctrines, and conduct of the pastors and teachers, within their limits, and are required from time to time, to visit the churches and schools; to examine into their condition, the state of their funds, build-

ings and other property, and into the official conduct of the clergymen and teachers; to make a full report to the "Governmental Deputation". They can, however, do nothing on their own authority, they are merely inspectors, or in particular cases, the agents of the bodies already mentioned. In case of the absence of a pastor, from his charge it devolves on them to supply his pulpit; and their permission must be obtained for every absence for more than three days. Should a pastor wish to leave his pulpit, for more than a fortnight, the "Deputation" must be apprized, through the superintendent, of the fact.

Most of the details, on this subject, are given on the authority of DR. G. A. BIELITZ'S *Handbuch des Preussischen Kirchenrechts*

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

It is not our intention to give under this head, a regular quarterly list of all new theological works, but to mention such as we think will be most interesting to our readers. In the present number, several works are noticed, which, although not very recently published, have not been long known in this country. As the sole object of this department of our work, is to give literary information, we do not propose to confine ourselves to such works as may come under our personal inspection; but also to state the character and contents of such as are important, on the authority of foreign Journals. Such notices, however, are not intended to be translations, they may state in few words the leading facts contained in a long review.

CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION.

Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine exhibens textum graecum ad exemplar Complutense expressum, cum vulgata interpretatione latina editionis Clementis VIII. ed. et loca parallela uberiora selectamque lectionis varietatem subministravit PETR. AL. GRATZ, *Theol. D. ac Prof. Edit. nova.* Tom. I. (*quatuor Ev. completens.*) pp. 475. 8vo. Tom. II. (*act. ap. epistt. et. apoc. compl.*) pp. 570. 8vo. Kuperberg. Mainz. 1827.

In 1821, an edition of the New Testament was issued by Fues of Tübingen, (edited by Dr. Gratz,) exhibiting the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglott, the variations

in the text of Stephens (1550) Matthäi, and Griesbach—and the Clementine Vulgate version opposite to the Greek. Of this impression we have here a new edition, on a plan somewhat altered and improved. The Complutensian text, which is still retained, has been so diligently compared and revised, that this impression may be looked upon as faultless. The punctuation of the Greek text has also received much attention from the Editor, who expresses, in his Preface, a deep sense of its importance. Some of his changes in the punctuation suggest new modes of interpretation: of these the most important are Rom. xi. 3, where the parenthesis is removed, and Luke, vi. 9, where a note of interrogation is inserted after *εἰ*. The principal alteration of the original plan consists in this—that, instead of the variations in the text contained in the three former editions, we have now at the foot of every page, 1. a collection of parallel passages, 2. the most important various readings, with an indication of their value. The latter is for the most part denoted by signs, though in some cases, the origin of the spurious reading is briefly pointed out. In his critical decisions, the editor generally coincides with Griesbach. Here and there, however, he adopts the suggestions of Matthäi, particularly in relation to the text of the Apocalypse.

Besides the peculiar interest and importance which this work must possess for the Catholic theologian, it is interesting to critics of all persuasions, as presenting a direct and easy access to the Complutensian text of the New Testament. The execution of the work is good—the paper white and strong—the impression clear and beautiful. To this last commendation, however, there is one exception: the *spiritus* in the Greek type of the notes being scarcely legible.

Novum Testamentum graece et latine, expressum ad binas editiones a LEONE X. P. M. adprobatas, Complutensem scilicet et Erasmi Roterod. Additae sunt aliarum novissimarum recensio- num variantes lectiones graecae, una cum Vulgata latina editionis Clementinae ad exemplar ex typographia Apost. Vatic. Romae, 1592. correctis corrigendis ex indicibus correctoriis ibidem editis, nec non cum additis lectt. ex Vaticanis editionibus latinis de annis 1590, 1592, 1593, 1598, variantibus, adpositisque locis parallelis. Studio et curâ LEANDRI VAN ESS S. Th. Doctoris. pp. 755, 8vo. Fues. Tübingen. 1827.

This work appeared about the same time with the one just noticed, and under the name of the same publisher who issued Dr. Gratz's first edition, (Fues of Tübingen,) of which indeed it is a mere modification. Dr. Van Ess assumes as the basis of his text, 1, the fifth edition of Erasmus; 2, the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglott. When these two differ, Griesbach decides between them: when all three differ, Griesbach is preferred. Besides the various readings of these three, we have also those which occur in the other editions of Erasmus, in Stephens' edition of 1546, and in the two editions of Matthäi.

The improvements on the Greek text of Erasmus, presented in this work, can scarcely be considered as of much importance, because they are not founded on the principles of sound criticism, but on a mere revision and comparison of the Complutensian text. This circumstance is no doubt owing to the fact, that the edition was designed exclusively for Catholics. It is to be feared, however, that it will not give satisfaction to Catholics themselves; 1, because it was not the *fifth*, but the *first* edition of Erasmus which Leo X. sanctioned; 2, because the present editor allows a Protestant to sit in judgment upon two impressions of the Greek text, both sanctioned by pontifical authority.

The execution of the work has not received due attention. Besides the errors in accentuation, which are very numerous, there are many others servilely transcribed from Gratz's first edition, which have since been corrected—and not a few typographical mistakes of the Complutensian Polyglott are enumerated here as various readings.

DAS HOHE LIED, ein Collectiv-Gesang auf Serubabel, Esra, und Nehemiah, als die Wiederhersteller einer judischen Verfassung in der Provinz Juda. Uebersetzt und mit historischen und philologisch-kritischen Bemerkungen erläutert nebst einem Anhang über das vierte Buch Esra, von Dr. Gottlieb Philipp Christian Kaiser, Professor der Theologie auf der Königl. baier. Universität Erlangen und Consistorialrathe. Mit einem Titelkupfer Erlangen, in der Palm'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1825. pp. xxxviii. and 274, 8vo.

DAS HOHE LIED Salomo's übersetzt mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, und einem Anhang über den Prediger. Von Dr. Georg Heinrich August Ewald, Repetent der Theol. Facultät (jetzt Professor) zu Göttingen. Göttingen, bei Rudolph Deuerlich. 1826, pp. 156, 8vo.

These two works (the latest which have appeared upon the subject) may be regarded as specimens of the two diametrically opposite modes of interpretation which are commonly applied to the *Hohe Lied* or *Song of Solomon*. Dr. Ewald denounces, in the strongest terms, the allegorical method of interpretation and deprecates most earnestly the consequences which, in his opinion, must result from the practice of ascribing a mystical meaning to the plainest passages of scripture. Dr. Kaiser, on the contrary, not only thinks it obvious, that the song in question is an allegory, but maintains, that to view it in any other light is to degrade the character of the Word of God, and contaminate its

purity, insomuch, that so long as there is any color for interpreting it allegorically, the contrary hypothesis ought not to be tolerated for a moment. (Preface, p. xxx.)

Such being the diversity of their principles and opinions, the results of their labors, contained in these two works, are of course very different.

Dr. Kaiser regards the Poem as a descriptive eulogy upon Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the three great restorers of the Jewish religion, and in some measure, of the Jewish monarchy, in Palestine—and as a continuation of Ecclesiastes, which, in his opinion, is a practical didactic history of the Kings of Judah from Solomon to Zedekiah. Agreeably to this hypothesis, he supposes the Poem to be naturally divided into three parts or Canticles. In the first, the poet sings of Zerubbabel's journey with the first Jewish colony to the Holy Land, the feast of tabernacles celebrated by them, the foundation and erection of the temple after many hindrances and difficulties, Zerubbabel's final regulations, and his return to Persia. The author supposes the colony to be personified, agreeably to oriental usage, as a bride. One of the arguments adduced by Dr. K. in proof of his assertion, that Zerubbabel is the subject of this canticle, is the apparent allusion in the words of the third verse—*thy name is as ointment poured forth*—to the name of the Jewish leader, which he derives from two synonymous Chaldee words.

In the second Canticle, Ezra, the second who brought up a colony to Judea, describes it still under the figure of a bride, but because a former colony was already planted, at the same time personifies it as a sister. He also celebrates the splendor of the second Temple.

In the third Canticle, Nehemiah describes the Jewish people under the figure of a sister. He first surveys the magnificence and beauty of Jerusalem, in a walk around it by night, then builds its walls, relieves its wants, celebrates

the feast of tabernacles, increases the population of the city, takes leave of the people, and returns.

The date of the composition of this allegorical eulogy, our author fixes in the time of Nehemiah; and interprets the inscription which it bears (*Song of Songs*, &c.) to signify a *collective song* (that is, a panegyric upon several different characters) *relating to Solomon*, by which he understands not the real Solomon, but the mystical Solomon or Messiah, to whom the Poem is supposed to bear a secondary and prospective reference.

To Dr. Kaiser's work is added an appendix on the Fourth Book of Ezra, in which he attempts to prove, that it was written by a Christian, towards the end of the first century. A copperplate accompanies the work, representing the inscriptions on some ancient coins.

Dr. Ewald, as has been already intimated, proceeds upon principles totally at variance with those of Dr. Kaiser, whose work he alleges, in his preface, to be useful only as a warning of the danger and absurdity of similar attempts. He even goes so far as to maintain the impossibility of putting a mystical construction upon the language of the Poem; and of course, in all his explanations excludes the supposition of an allegory. He also maintains the unity of the Poem, in opposition to the three-fold distribution of his predecessor, and fixes its date, neither so early as Solomon, nor so late as the captivity, but about the year 920 before Christ.

Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, von Dr. Joh. Leonhard Hug, Prof. der Theologie in Freyburg, Grossherzogl. Bad. Geistl. Rath. und des Königl. Würtemb. Verdienstordens Ritter. Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Stuttgart und Tübingen in der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 1826. Erster Theil. pp. xxiii, and 535. Zweyte Theil, pp. xii. and 618, 8vo.

The reputation of Hug is too well established, and the value of his Introduction to the New Testament too generally known, to require any further notice of this third edition than a statement of the more important points in which it differs from the second ; the diligence of the learned author in correcting errors, supplying deficiencies, and answering objections, never failing to enhance the value of his work in a sensible degree. It may not be amiss, however, to remind the reader, that independently of the sound judgment and extensive learning which characterise this work, Hug is especially distinguished from contemporary critics by his marked aversion to the licence of conjecture, and his strong disposition to what may be called the *matter-of-fact* mode of criticism. While multitudes of his countrymen have excited admiration, by the ingenuity of their hypotheses, our author stands almost unrivalled as a strict adherer to historical verity, and a patient investigator of authenticated facts.

The preface to this third edition of the Introduction, besides a dedication of the work to the distinguished theologians Hesse and Münster, contains a series of interesting and important observations on the existing controversy in relation to *Rationalism* and *Supernaturalism*, in which the author urges that the particular form of Supernaturalism, for which he contends, is an essential part of Christianity.

In the first volume, the two chapters on the antiquity, genuineness, and credibility of the New Testament writings, are improved by the addition of some new remarks on the gospel of Marcion, including the substance of Hahn's and Oldhausen's researches on that subject, and terminating in the same conclusions. (Vol. I. pp. 66—82.)

A second important addition to the work may be found in the history of the text, where the author defends his opinion in relation to the recension of Hesychius and Lucian

against the objections urged by Scholz and Vater. (Vol. I. pp. 230—237.)

The chapter on *Versions* has received many additions. The most important are the observations on an Arabic version of the New Testament, unknown till within a few years, and first brought into public notice by professor Scholz—and the critical account of a manuscript copy of the Vulgate, as revised by Alcuin, put into the author's hands by a gentleman of Basle whose property it is—an account of which Dr. Hug intends to publish in another form.

Besides these more important additions to the first volume, may be mentioned a few minor alterations and improvements. In the article on the genuineness of the New Testament, a passage is inserted on the use of the gospel among the Valentinians: in the third chapter a large addition in relation to the earliest collection of the books of the New Testament into a single volume: in the history of the text, the results of the author's investigations respecting Eusebius' mention of Origen's recension; in the eighth chapter, some remarks on the fac-simile of the Basle MS: and finally, some copious observations on the emendation of the Latin version by Jerome.

The second volume is composed of separate introductions to the individual books. The first addition of importance, is a long and very learned dissertation on the original language of Matthew's gospel—more particularly on the question, whether Papias and Eusebius ever saw the Hebrew gospel. It is well known that Hug's opinion is in favor of the supposition, that Matthew wrote in Greek, and he here repels objections to that doctrine.

Another important addition to the same section of the second volume is his refutation of the hypothesis that there was one original unwritten gospel, the foundation of the four now extant.

In the same section, he considers the hypothesis of Gratz

respecting the relation between the three first gospels—with special reference to the question, whether the coincidences of those gospels are to be ascribed to interpolations made, with a view to harmonize the three, by some one in later times.

In the special introduction to John's gospel, a solution is presented of a series of chronological, geographical, and archaeological difficulties, proposed in Brettschneider's *Probabilien*, and materially affecting the genuineness of the gospel.

The only alteration of importance in the dissertations on the Epistle of Paul, consists in the addition of some observations in opposition to Schulz's arguments against the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The last considerable addition to this volume, is an answer to the arguments of Ullmann against the genuineness of 1 and 2 Peter.

To these may be mentioned some additions of less moment,—the remarks on the *apomnemonemata* of Justin, including a review of the researches of Vater, Winer, Mynster, Paulus and Olshausen—a new explanation of the introduction to Luke's gospel—observations on the two genealogies of Jesus—an answer to the question why Joseph had no residence at Bethlehem, though a Bethlehemite by birth—observations on the last chapters of Mark and John, on the introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, on the Epistle of James, and on the Apocalypse.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. In two volumes. By Moses Stuart, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theol. Seminary at Andover. Vol. I. Andover, 1827. pp. 288. Vol. II. Andover, 1828. pp. 388.

This extended and elaborate work owes its origin, Prof. Stuart informs us, to the nature of his official duties. Finding, in his regular course of lecturing on this epistle, that

it was impossible to present as full a view of the various important subjects necessarily brought forward, as was desirable, he was led to "the design of publishing *in extenso*," on this difficult portion of the New Testament. In the first, or introductory, volume, the author discusses all the preliminary questions usually agitated concerning this book. As 1, the persons to whom the Epistle was addressed. On this point, Prof. Stuart comes to the conclusion, that the opinion of the ancient church, that it was addressed to the Christians of Palestine, has all the evidence in its favor that could be reasonably demanded. His examination of the antiquity and canonical authority of this Epistle results in the opinion, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that, at a period very little after the apostolic age, it must have had "a currency and credit, not at all, or at most very little, inferior to that of other acknowledged books of the New Testament." That Paul was the author of this Epistle, is the conclusion, at which Prof. Stuart arrives, after an examination, which occupies nearly 200 pages, a conclusion which he deduces from the testimony of the early church, and the coincidences of sentiment, manner, phraseology, and diction between this Epistle and the acknowledged productions of this apostle. That it was originally written in Greek, and not in Hebrew, as some of the early Christian writers supposed, the author shows to be altogether probable. The second volume contains a new translation, and a continuous commentary on the whole Epistle. At the end are arranged numerous critical dissertations on difficult passages, which required a more extended investigation than could be given them in the course of the commentary.

From our geographical position, it is possible that our publication may come into the hands of some individuals who have not had an opportunity of examining this work of Prof. Stuart. It is solely for the purpose of calling their attention to it, and of earnestly recommending it to the careful

study of all, interested in the critical investigation of the Sacred Scriptures, that this brief account of its contents is given. As the taste for works of this nature is rapidly increasing in our country, it is of the utmost importance that it be properly directed. Our biblical students are now forced to have recourse to German works; a very large proportion of which, although professedly written on the principles of strict historical interpretation, as frequently violate those principles as any of the older doctrinal commentaries. It is not preconceived opinions, in favor of the truth, which alone bias the mind of a commentator, and a skeptic is not necessarily impartial. The history of interpretation can scarcely afford more striking examples of the violent wresting of scripture to make it accord with a system, than may be found in many productions of the recent German school.

The German exegetical works differ so much from each other, that they cannot be spoken of as a whole. Those which have proceeded from that class of the Rationalists, of which Paulus of Heidelberg may be considered the representative, are seldom entitled to the praise of fair and candid interpretation: Their authors, professing to believe the Bible, yet rejecting its doctrines, are in a constant struggle with the plain sense of the sacred text. A much more valuable class consists in the productions of men of the school of Winer, who, without considering themselves at all bound to believe what the scriptures teach, examine and report their meaning, with as much impartiality as is possible, from the nature of the case, for them to exercise. These works abound, indeed, with misrepresentations, arising from the impossibility of such men as their authors, differing, as they do, so entirely in feeling and experience, with the sacred writers, properly comprehending their doctrines. A third class includes the works of pious and learned men, which may be read with unmingled satisfaction. This class is

happily rapidly increasing. The distinguishing excellence of all these works is, that they are philological. They bring together, and present in one view, matter illustrative of the language of scripture scattered through a vast number of books. Some of the best and most popular of their number consist mainly of the critical materials collected by such men as the *Fratres Poloni*, *Grotius*, *Carpzov*, *Raphelius*, *Elsner*, *Krebs*, *Lightfoot*, *Wetstein*, and others woven into a continuous commentary. That suitable works of this nature are scarcely to be met with, out of Germany, is a fact which is admitted on all hands; and may be easily accounted for. Talent in England is diverted into a thousand channels; in Germany it is confined to very few. The intellect which in the former country is employed in active pursuits, in the latter is expended on literature; hence, the press there teems with such a multitude of productions in every department of learning. The particular reason, however, that there is such a marked deficiency of exegetical works in England, lies in the manner in which theological studies are there pursued. Neither in Oxford nor Cambridge is there a full theological faculty, nor are exegetical lectures on the scriptures regularly delivered. In Germany, on the contrary, every university has its theological faculty, all the members of which deliver such lectures; and frequently also, men belonging to the philosophical department, as the languages, ancient and modern, fall within their sphere. Every student is required to produce a certificate of his having attended at least two courses of lectures of this kind, before he is admitted to an examination for licensure. It is not wonderful, therefore, that exegetical works are numerous in the one country and scarce in the other. As there is no probability that this state of things in England will very soon be changed, we need not expect to be supplied with works of this nature from that quarter. We are, therefore, the more indebted to Prof. Stuart for his labors in this department. The recep-

tion which his work has already met with, is sufficient to convince him that his zeal and efforts are not in vain.

Novum Testamentum: accidunt Parallela SS. loca necnon veterum Evangeliorum et Epistolarum capitula et canones Eusebii. 12mo. London, 1828.

J. G. Stickel, *Prolusio ad interpret. tertii capitis Habacuci.* Pars I. 8vo. Neustadt, 1828.

Beitrag zur allgemeinen Hermeneutik and zu deren Anwendung auf die Theologische. Von. F. H. Germar. 8vo. Altona, 1828.

Fr. Münter *Notitia codicis graeci Evangelium Johannis variatum continentis.* 8vo. Copenhagen, 1828.

Vorlesungen über die Briefe Pauli an die Galater und Epheser. von J. F. Flatt. 8vo. Leipzig, 1828.

THEOLOGY.

Dr. George Christian Knapp's, Königl. Consistorialraths Seniors der theologischen Facultät auf der vereinten Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Directors der Frankischen Stiftungen, Ritters des rothen Adlerordens zweyter Klasse &c. *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre nach dem Lehrbegriff der evangelischen Kirche.* Aus der hinterlassen Handschrift unverändert herausgegeben und mit einer Vorede begleitet, von Carl Thilo ordentlichem Professor der Theol. an der vereinten Univer. Halle-Wittenberg. Halle, 1827. Erster Theil S. 448. Zweiter Theil S. 600.

These lectures on theology, by the late Dr. Knapp, have been published, as stated in the title page, from the manuscript of the author, since his death. The editor, Prof. Thilo of Halle, in the preface, gives his readers all the information

they could desire, as to the nature and origin of the work. It contains the lectures of Dr. Knapp, as delivered in the University of Halle. They were first publicly read in 1789, and repeated at subsequent periods, eleven times. They appear now in the form in which they were first written, excepting so far as the author, from time to time, improved them. In all their essential features, however, they remained unchanged. This is the more worthy of notice, since it was precisely between the periods, at which these lectures were read for the first and the last time, that is, between 1789 and 1810, that theology in Germany passed through more changes than ever before, during any equal space of time. That the author should firmly adhere to his early opinions, and instead of being shaken, be rather confirmed in his faith, by all the multifarious attacks made during this period, on the doctrines of the gospel, is a sufficient proof, that these opinions rested on a solid foundation.

The first hundred pages of the first volume are devoted to preliminary subjects ; the nature of religion and theology ; the objects of divine revelation ; the Sacred Scriptures ; their authenticity ; the canon of the Old and New Testament ; the integrity, divine origin, and inspiration of the word of God, &c. &c.

The body of the work is divided into two parts ; the first treats of theology, in a restricted sense, that is, of the doctrine concerning God ; of his existence, his nature and attributes ; of the doctrine of the Trinity ; of the works of God ; of the creation generally—of the creation of man ; of the doctrine of angels, good and evil ; of divine providence. The second part treats of man ; of his present, and future condition ; and of the means which God has adopted for his moral improvement, and restoration. Under the head of man's present condition, it treats of sin and its punishment ; of the fall ; of the imputation of Adam's sin ; of original sin ; of the consequences of sin. The second divi-

sion of this part, treats of the state to which man should be restored; and the means adopted for his restoration; of Jesus Christ, first as Messiah; of the various prophecies relating to him as such; and of the gradual developement of God's revelation, concerning him: the history of Jesus as a man; of the person of Christ, of his divine and human nature: of the work of Christ; of the atonement; of deliverance from the power of sin; of the benefits consequent on the works of Christ (*de beneficiis Christi*); of the conditions on which men are made partakers of these benefits; of faith; of good works; of the operations of grace; of the church; of the sacraments; of death, and the fate of men after death; of the resurrection, judgment, eternal punishment, and eternal life.

The theological systems of Germany at present most in vogue, are purely philosophical; such as those of Schleiermacher, Marheinecke, and Twisten. This of Dr. Knapp is of a very different character. He states, simply and clearly, the various doctrines of his church, explains the terms used in relation to them, and examines strictly and thoroughly the passages of the Bible, which he adduces in their support. With regard to the more important of these doctrines, he presents also a historical view of the opinions entertained respecting them, at different periods. We are very glad to learn, that this work is in a course of translation at Andover. It will add another, to the list of valuable books, for which the public are already indebted to the friends of biblical knowledge, in that place.

Lehrburch der evangelischen Dogmatik von Dr. Karl Hase. Stuttgart. 1826. pp. viii. and 536, 8vo.

Gnosis oder evangelische Glaubenslehre für die Gebildeten in der Gemeinde. IV. Band. Leipzig. Barth. 1827. pp. x. and 322, 8vo.

The second of these works is a supplement to the first,

and is intended to present in a popular form, the same matter which was treated in the first in a more abstract and systematic manner. An adequate idea of the character of both, may be gathered from the following brief sketch of the contents of the *Lehrbuch*.

The author gives a definition of his subject equi-distantly removed from the extremes of those who treat it in a manner too strictly philosophical, and of such as Schleiermacher and Bretschneider who regard it as exclusively historical. He professes himself an Evangelical Supernaturalist; but coincides with Schleiermacher in assigning an inferior rank to the Old Testament. He also ranks the gospel of Matthew above those of Mark and Luke, except as a mere historical authority, in which light he gives the preference to them. He seems to entertain a doubt with respect to the perfect accuracy of the words ascribed to Christ by the apostle John.

His history of Dogmatical Theology, he divides into five periods—the age of the apostles—the age of the fathers—the scholastic age—the age of the reformation—and the age of philosophy. Among the modern systems, he mentions Schleiermacher's scheme of *Christian Pantheism*.

The body of the work is divided into three general heads, *Anthropology*, *Theology*, and *Christology*. The first section of Anthropology treats of *das religiöse Leben nach dem Ideale*—the second, of *das religiöse Leben nach der Wirklichkeit*—the third, of *das religiöse nach der Urbedingung, unter welcher die Wirklichkeit zum Ideale strebt*.

The first section under the head of Christology, treats of the history of Christ, his education and the object of his incarnation. The second section relates to the church of Christ; and the third is entitled *Christus im Gemüthe* and treats of predestination and grace, of faith and justification, of the Holy Spirit, and the method of salvation, under which is inserted the doctrine of the Trinity.

Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirche, n. d. Compend. d. Hrn. Dr. W. M. L. de Wette, v. Aug. Detl. Chr. Twesten, Prof. d. Theol. u. Phil. an der Univ. zu Kiel, Ritter v. Dannebrogorden. Erster Band. Einleit u. erster kritische Theil. Hamburg,

D. P. Canisii summa doctrinae Christianae. 2d ed: 8vo. Landsb. 1828.

Oberthüri Idea Biblica Ecclesiae Dei. Tom. I—III. 8vo. Sulzbach. 1828.

Das Judenthum und seine Reform Von J. B. Grase. 8vo. Bayreuth. 1828.

The doctrine of the church of Geneva illustrated in a series of sermons preached by the modern divines of that city. Edited by Rev. J. S. Pons. London, 1828.

Four discourses on the Sacrifice, Priesthood, Atonement, and Redemption of Christ; by John Pye Smith, D. D. 8vo. London.

J. Rust de nonnullis quae in Theologia nostrae aetatis desiderarunt 8vo. Erlangen. 1828.

HISTORY.

Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme et de son influence sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers siècles de l'ère Chrétienne. Ouvrage couronné par l'académie Royale des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres. Par M. Jacques Matter, Professeur à l'académie Royale de Strasbourg. 3 Vols. 8vo. Paris. 1828.

This is the second work of Professor Matter, which has gained the prize of the Royal Academie. The first was his

Essai Historique sur l'école d'Alexandrie, published in 1820. The subject of the book before us, though rendered familiar in Germany for thirty years past, by the writings of Neander, Munter, Fuldner, Bellerman, &c., is a novel one in France. Our author, from his situation at the confluent point of French and German sentiments, enjoyed great advantages for the performance of his task. That he has availed himself of all the lights which Germany could lend him, is evinced by the thickly studded references at the bottom of his pages; and it may perhaps be safely asserted, that the present is the most complete exhibition of the subject which has yet been given to the public.

The work is divided into four sections. The first exhibits in three chapters, the origin of Gnosticism, traces its doctrines as they were before and after Christ, and enumerates the most distinguished leaders of the sect, posterior to the days of the apostles, such as Euphrates, Simon Magus, Menander, Cerinthus, Nicholas, &c.

The second section, which includes four chapters, describes the Gnostic schools and sects. 1, The Syrian. 2, That of Asia-Minor. 3, That of Egypt, which affords the greatest variety of detail.

The third section, comprehending seven chapters, treats of the influence of Gnosticism on contemporary sects in religion and philosophy. 1, The Judaizing Christians. 2, The Ascetics, especially the Eucratites and Montanists. 3, The Manicheans and Priscillianists. 4, The Eastern Anti-Christians. 5, The Antitrinitarians in the Christian church. 6, Several particular writers of the Orthodox church. 7, The schools of Greek philosophy.

The whole is wound up in a chapter of *General Conclusions*. The third volume, or *atlas*, contains a collection of gems &c., illustrative of their peculiar notions.

The faults of the work are, a want of precision in details; an excess of borrowed erudition, and superfluous exposition;

a careless and confused terminology; deviation from historical and chronological order; and obscurity in point of style.

A general history of the Christian church from the same pen, has been announced.

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, von Joh. Carl Ludwig Gieseler, Dr. der Philos. und Theol. und der Letzten ord. Prof. an der. Rheinuniversität. *Erster Band. Zweyte sehr verbesserte und zum Theil umgearbeitete Auflage.* Bonn. bey A. Marcus, 1827. pp. x. and 691. 8vo.

The first edition of the first volume of this work appeared in 1824, the first part of the second volume in 1825, the second part of the same in 1826, which brings the history down to the year 1305. The third part of the second volume, the author states, will extend to the Reformation; while a third and last volume, consisting of two parts, will comprehend the history of the modern church.

The object of this work is to give a brief but comprehensive view of the history of the church. This is presented in the text, while the notes are principally occupied with citations and authorities, which the author from considerations which he states at length, gives in large detail.

This second edition of the first volume presents some important alterations and improvements. The first edition contained 123 sections, and 502 pages; this contains 132 sections, and 691 pages. The only sections entirely new, however, are the twelfth (on the religious toleration of the Romans) and the eighty-eighth (on the oecumenic councils.) The greater part of the alterations affect only particular paragraphs and sentences. The most considerable changes which have been made in the arrangement of this new edition, are, the transfer of the sections on the connexion between church and state, to the chapter which contains the

history of the hierarchy, and the insertion of all the statements in relation to the propagation of the gospel beyond the limits of the Roman empire, in a chapter by themselves.

The minor alterations and improvements of most moment are those which may be found in the following passages. Per. I. ch. II. § 38; on the popular opposition of the Romans to Christianity. § 46, on the Montanists and Alogi. Per. II. ch. I. § 78, introduction to the History of Theology. §§ 79—82, history of the Arian controversy, in which the account of the state of theological science during the period of that controversy, has been especially improved. §§ 100—103, on morals.

The author has devoted particular attention to the history of the hierarchy, in consequence of which the chapter on that subject has undergone considerable alterations.

The substance of this notice is derived from a statement by the author himself, contained in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* by Umbreit, for 1828; vol. I. No. 1. He there defends his work against some objections in relation to his form and plan, and solicits criticism upon some new conjectures and hypotheses suggested in the text and notes.

Statistique des Eglises Reformées de France, Suivie des lois, arrêtés, ordonnances, circulaires et instruction qui les concernent, de l'indication des sociétés Religieuses et des Ecoles. Avec un tableau général. Par A. Soulier, Ancien Pasteur. 8vo. Paris, 1828.

There are two classes of Protestants in France: 1, The *Lutherans*, who adhere to the confession of Augsburg. 2, The *Reformed*, or *Calvinists*. The work before us relates exclusively to the latter. The character and station of M. Soulier afford him such advantages for the gaining of information on this subject, that his statements are altogether worthy of confidence. From the inspection of documents accessible to few, and the returns to a circular letter of his own, he has obtained the following results embodied

in this book : 1, A statistical account of the state of the Reformed church in France. 2, The organic law of the 18th of Germinal in the year 10 of the Republic. 3, The discipline of the Reformed church. 4, A collection of laws and ordonances now in force, relating to the church, and forming a sort of Protestant code. 5, Documents relating to the Protestant academies at Strasburg and Montauban.

In his statistics, M. Soulier pursues the alphabetical order of the departments, with their division into *Consistorial churches*, and subdivision into *sections*. Under each head he states the name and residence of pastors (with the nearest Post-office when necessary), the number of churches or consecrated edifices, of Protestant societies and schools, with the date of their foundation.

From a general table at the end, we learn, that there are in France, connected with the Reformed church, 96 consistories or oratories, 305 pastors, 438 consecrated edifices, 451 Bible societies or associations, 124 missionary societies or associations, 59 societies or depositories of religious tracts, 8 provident societies, 79 Sunday schools, 392 elementary and bearding schools.

It is not to be supposed, however, from this statement, that the Reformed of France are fully supplied with religious privileges. Many congregations are compelled to worship in sheepfolds, barns, or in the open air. In the single department of the Gard, there are fifty congregations in this situation. In the commune of Monoblet, particularly, there is no church or convenient edifice, though 950 out of 1040 inhabitants are of the Reformed persuasion. In many cases, too, one minister serves several distant churches, so that, in some congregations, preaching is heard only once in three months.

The government of the Reformed in France is Presbyterian, and their liturgy that of Geneva. In 1826, however, M. Roux of Uzès published a new form of prayer which he submitted to the consideration of the churches.

The life and opinions of John de Wycliffe, D. D. illustrated principally from his unpublished MSS. with a preliminary view of the Papal system and of the state of the Protestant doctrine in Europe to the commencement of the 14th century. By Robert Vaughan. With a portrait. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1828.

Geschichte des Monchthums in allen seinen Verzweigungen. Von D. E. Münch. 1 and 2 Bdchn. 16mo. Stuttgart. 1828.

Essai historique et critique sur l'Etat des Jesuites en France. Paris, 1828.

PHILOLOGY.

A Grammar of the Hebrew Language, comprised in a series of lectures, compiled from the best authorities, and augmented with much original matter, drawn principally from oriental sources: designed for the use of students in the universities. Dedicated, by permission to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. S. Lee, A. M. D. D. of the University of Halle, Honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Honorary Associate and F. R. S. L. and M. R. A. S. &c., And Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. pp. xxxi. and 397. London, 1827.

Whatever may be the intrinsic value of this work, it certainly possesses the merit of originality. Neither in matter nor in manner has the author been a servile copyist of others. He assigns as his reason for adding another to the many Hebrew grammars already before the public, the fact, that the subject has been treated heretofore in a manner too exclusively synthetical, to remedy which evil, he has attempted

in this work to unite an analytical investigation of first principles with a synthetical detail of the rules derived from them. In his preface, Professor Lee declares his reasons for adopting the Rabbinnical system of accents, and vowel-points, disclaiming all belief in its divine authority, but at the same time, pronouncing it the best instrument for facilitating the right understanding of the Sacred Scriptures, that has ever been proposed, and animadverting on the evil tendency of overstrained attempts to facilitate the acquisition of the language.

The principal peculiarity of this grammar, in point of form, arises from the author's discarding the usual arrangement and terminology, borrowed by the grammarians of Europe from the Greeks and Romans; and deriving a great part of his explanations from the analogy of the cognate oriental dialects.

Among the particulars in which Professor Lee has dissented from his predecessors, may be mentioned his arrangement of the vowels, and his doctrine with respect to syllables. The latter he reduces to one standard, and to one apparent measure, by abandoning the old distinction of long and short vowels, as well as the classification of Gesenius, and substituting for them, a new division into *perfect* and *imperfect*, founded upon their ordinary use and situation as constituent parts of syllables. To this might be added some change in the usual phraseology, and some real simplification of the rules in relation to Sheva and Dagesh, and the mutations of the consonants and vowels which occur in the process of the etymology. But the characteristic feature which distinguishes the system of Professor Lee from every other, is his doctrine respecting the primitive part of speech. He reverses the ordinary process and makes the noun the root, supposing the verb to be derived from it by vowel changes and by the addition of words or parts of words once significant, in order to modify the meaning of

the root. This view of the subject is defended by the author not only as most natural and rational in itself, but as affording the most satisfactory explanation of unusual forms and etymological anomalies. In order to establish and explain this theory, it was necessary to exhibit the actual correspondence between the various forms of nouns and verbs, which the author has done at great length and with great minuteness of detail. To this elaborate exposition of his views, which occupies a very large proportion of his work, and gives it, in fact, its distinctive character, we can do no more than refer the reader. The same may be said of the syntax, which is copiously treated, and enriched from the author's stores of oriental learning, but admits neither of extracts nor analysis. The subject of the accents has less prominence in this than in most modern grammars. Their value and importance to a certain extent is acknowledged, and the essential rules respecting them laid down, but the author expresses his belief, that any great attention to the subject is unnecessary. With respect to the study of the Arabic and cognate dialects, the opinion of so eminent an orientalist as Lee deserves attention—"That he who is best acquainted with these dialects is by far the most likely person to be a successful commentator on the Hebrew scriptures."

A grammar of the Hebrew language, by Moses Stuart, Associate Professor of sacred literature in the theological Institution at Andover. Third edition. Andover, Flaggs and Gould. Codman Press, 1828. pp. viii. and 240, 8vo.

Andreae Theophili Hoffmanni, Philos et Theol. D. in Jenensi Litterarum Universitate Theol. Prof. P. O. Grammaticae Syriacae Libri III. pp. 418. 4to. Halle, 1827.

This work, as we are informed in the preface, was undertaken at the instance of Gesenius, some years since, by one

of his pupils, now a Professor in the University of Jena. Its completion has been delayed by want of health, change of situation, and official duties. During the whole period, however, which has elapsed since he first conceived the design, the author has been diligently employed in collecting materials and extending his acquaintance with the language.

He professes to have adopted and pursued the plan of Gesenius in his Hebrew grammar, and proceeds upon the principle of Michaelis and others, that compendious grammars retard, instead of facilitating, the progress of the student. He has accordingly made his work a very copious one, not only giving the rules in minute detail, but illustrating the whole by quotations and examples. The alterations and improvements in his mode of treating the subject, to which the author calls the attention of the reader, though numerous, are too minute to admit of specification here. Prefixed to the Grammar are above seventy pages of *Prolegomena*, divided into six sections. 1, On the Aramean language. 2, On the Syriac language. 3, On the history of Syria. 4, On the history of the Syriac language. 5, On the cultivation of the language in modern times, including a review of grammars and lexicons. 6, On the Syriac character and writing, illustrated by three tables. Each section is accompanied with copious notes of reference and illustration, indicating extensive and diligent research.

A manual Hebrew and English Lexicon including the Biblical Chaldee. Designed particularly for beginners. By Josiah W. Gibbs, A. M. Prof. of Sacred Lit. in the theological school in Yale College. pp. 210. 8vo. Andover, 1828.

REVIEW OF THE
ARGUMENTS AND THEORIES OF ANTITRINITARIANS,
BEING THE SECOND SECTION OF
FLATT'S DISSERTATION
ON
THE DEITY OF CHRIST.

[Translated from the Latin.]

BEFORE I proceed to examine in detail the particular tenets of conflicting sects, it may be well to take a preliminary view of some *general* arguments, which have been urged in opposition to the Deity of Christ, though not in support of any definite hypothesis. These are of two sorts, *philosophical* and *scriptural*—both of which have been the means of misleading many candid, acute, and so far as we can judge, sincere inquirers after truth, in relation to this subject.

I. Those of the first class may, for the most part, be reduced to this one objection, that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ involves an evident contradiction, or, to say the least, is utterly incomprehensible. And it must be confessed, that some ground has been given for this cavil by the manner in which *personality* and *consubstantiality* have been defined by many orthodox divines. But surely, it is most unfair to charge upon a church the imperfections or absurdities of individual theologians. That the doctrine of our church upon this subject, as set forth in her

confessions, involves no such contradiction, has been shown already. Indeed, the whole doctrine may be reduced to an abstract proposition in this form. *The relation existing between A and B is such, that with respect to C, they are identical ; but, with respect to X, distinct.* Now, that this proposition, considered in the abstract, is in perfect harmony with the principle of *identity*, on which the objectors found their argument, and may be applied to the Divine nature without doing violence to the principle,* that there exists in God something not comprehended in the number of his attributes revealed to us, (i. e. in his *ουσια*, properly so called)—appears to me so plain, that I would venture, *a priori*, to affirm the impossibility of pointing out the slightest inconsistency in the assertion.

It may be said, that we proceed upon the supposition of an *inconceivable relation*, which supposition is absurd, as it must be either a mere quibble or an unintelligible fiction: And we freely admit, that neither the connexion, nor the difference, between the persons in the Godhead can be conceived of, positively ; in other words, they can be known, neither by intuition nor analogy. But we deny, that it follows from these premises, that our doctrine of the relation between Father and Son, resting, as it does, upon such high authority, is irrational and absurd. To set down as false or impossible whatever we can form no definite conception of,† is as if a man born blind should denounce, as impossible or false, the description of a painting, merely because he could

* No one can suppose, that our reasoning is at variance with the principle *Quæ sunt eadem uni tertio eadem inter se sunt*, who understands the meaning of this axiom ; unless, indeed, he has wholly misconceived the doctrine which we advocate, and confounded things essentially distinct. It has never been pretended, that the Father and the Son are identical in all points, or in precisely the same sense in which they are said to differ. See *Remarques sur le livre d'un Antitrinitaire Anglois*—Works of Leibnitz, Vol. I.

† See Ulrich's *Institut. Log. et Metaphys.* p. 302, &c.

form no image in his own mind of the object. To deny the possibility of any relations except those which exist among external objects, or such as may be inferred from them, evinces but a slight acquaintance with philosophy, and a lamentable ignorance or want of recollection, with respect to the limits of the human understanding. The truth is, that from the partial knowledge which we have, even of things subject to the cognizance of our internal and external senses, we have no right to conclude that the only relations of which they are susceptible are such as exist between external objects.* How then can it be thought surprizing that there should be some relations beyond our comprehension, in the nature of the Deity; a nature so immeasurably far removed from all created things, that even of those attributes

* For example, who can demonstrate the propriety of that division, by which all things (as well phenomena as things *οὐτως οὐτα*) are classed either as *substances* or *accidents*? See Ulrich's *Instit.* p. 341, and Heilmann's *Comp. Theol. Dogmat.* 2nd ed. p. 98.

Those who adopt Kant's doctrine in relation to the categories, are of all others, the last who should take offence at our position, that the relation between the Father and the *Λόγος* is one which does not exist in the exterior world. Nor indeed, can those who maintain the empirical origin of the categories, or at least believe that they are to be classed among the *οὐτως οὐτα*, in any way demonstrate, that there is not some species of relation within the comprehension of superior intelligences, of which, in our present state, we can form no definite conception.

"Il faut avouer," says Leibnitz, "qu'il n'y a aucun exemple dans la nature, qui réponde assez à cette notion des personnes divines. Mais il n'est point nécessaire qu'on en puisse trouver et il suffit, que ce qu'on en vient de dire, n'implique aucune contradiction ni absurdité. La substance divine a sans doute, des privileges, qui passent toutes les autres substances. Cependant, comme nous ne connoissons pas assez toute la nature, nous ne pouvons pas assurer non plus, qu'il n'y a, et qu'il n'y peut avoir aucune substance absolue qui en contienne plusieurs respectives." (*Remarques sur le livre d'un Antitrinitaire Anglois*, Leibnitz' works, Dutens ed. Vol. I. p. 26.)

which are revealed, and which Natural Theology teaches, it is impossible to form any adequate conception.*

If this be so, the perfect consistency of our opinion with the principles of sound philosophy is a priori so apparent, that a detailed examination of the arguments and sophisms which the wit of man has coined, for the purpose of establishing the contrary, would be altogether useless. I shall content myself, therefore, with selecting two from the mass, by way of specimens. The first is the argument of *F. Socinus*, and is in these words: "There is no man so stupid that he cannot see the repugnance of these two propositions, that *God is one* and *God is three*, (of which three, every one is God himself.) They say, indeed, that though as to his essence he is *numerically* one, he is at the same time, *personally* three—a distinction utterly repugnant, since there cannot be a plurality of persons where there is only one individual essence. For what, indeed, is a *person* but an intelligent, individual, essence? Or what distinguishes one person from another but the diversity of individual essence? This doctrine implies that although the divine *essence* is numerically one, the divine *person* is more than one, whereas the divine essence and person are one and the same thing."

Now, it is clear that this objection turns entirely on the meaning which Socinus supposes to be attached to the words *persona* and *essentia*: and as he was led to attach that meaning to the terms by a mere misconception of the phraseology employed in common parlance and in the writings of some orthodox divines, the objection has of course, no weight. Where will be the supposed contradiction, if

* I could easily show, were this the proper place, that every writer who has attempted to illustrate by comparison, or explain by reasoning, the relation between the Father and the Son, has missed his aim entirely; not even excepting Seiler. (See his work *über die Gottheit Christi beides für Gläubige und Zweifler*, Leipzig. 1775. p. 105, &c.)

the words be understood in the sense proposed by us above?

The second argument which we shall cite, is that of *Taylor*,* and more plausible than the foregoing. He denies that there can possibly be any real difference between the Father and the Son, unless each possesses something which the other wants. "Now, this property," says he, "which each possesses to the exclusion of the other, must be reckoned among the divine *perfections*, unless it be admitted that there are *imperfections* in the Deity. Consequently each is destitute of some perfection; and as the idea of a God involves that of absolute perfection, it follows that neither Father nor Son is God."

This argument, however, specious as it is, will be found on impartial examination, to have no weight whatever, in opposition to the doctrine laid down in our former section. We have there maintained, that the Father and the Son are identical in essence, and expressly defined the word essence, as implying the aggregate of all those perfections which Natural Theology ascribes to God; such as eternity, necessary existence, infinite power and wisdom. Now, that either the Father or the Son is destitute of the necessary perfections, or, in any sense inferior, can by no means be argued from the fact that each possesses a distinctive character not belonging to the other. For we hold that there may be such a distinctive character, apart from the *ousia*, properly so called; and as to the doctrine, that the peculiarity by which Christ is distinguished from the Father is to be reckoned a *minor* or *inferior* perfection,† we regard it as a mere gra-

* See the *British Theological Magazine*. Volume I. No. 4. (1770.) p. 111.

† Even assuming the *generation* of the Son—if we understand the term as meaning nothing more than this, that the distinctive character of the Son has some necessary dependence upon that of the Father, it

tautous assumption. If any one, however, understands by *ουσια*, the *substance* or *nature* of the Deity generally, including the *ουσια*, strictly so called, and the distinctive personal characters alluded to, he can have no difficulty in admitting that the Son and the Father are the same in substance, at the same time that he holds them to be really distinct.

II. Some attention is now due to the other class of arguments employed to overthrow our doctrine respecting the Deity of Christ.

It is an admitted fact, that there are many passages in the New Testament which would seem to ascribe divine honors to the Father, exclusively of Christ; (such as John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 6. &c.) or else to ascribe to Christ something utterly irreconcilable with the idea of a nature divine and infinite, (such as John xiv. 28. 1 Cor. xi. 3; xv. 27, 28. Mark xiii. 32. Heb. v. 7. Matt. xxviii. 18.) And we freely admit that from all these passages the inference is fair, that, in one respect, Christ is inferior to God. But as to the assertion that the language of these texts militates against the doctrine demonstrated in the preceding section, we deny it boldly, as incapable of proof, hermeneutical or otherwise, unless upon the supposition, that the doctrine of the word of God is inconsistent with itself. But in order to show more clearly, that the texts above referred to, are perfectly reconcilable with our doctrine, we shall premise a few general observations tending to explain the apparent contradiction, and then make an application of them to the passages themselves.

1. In the first place, then, we hold, agreeably to scripture, (see John i. 14, compared with 1—3,) that *Christ was*

does not follow, that the perfection of the Son is finite, or inferior to the perfection of the Father. Who, for instance, will infer that the will of the Father is inferior to his intellect, from the fact, that will, presupposes intellect.

*man, as well as God.** Assuming this, and considering that the language of the scriptures is conformed to colloquial usage, and not to the subtle technics of philosophy; it is, evidently, just as natural and proper, that Christ should be described sometimes in a divine, and sometimes in a human character,† as that man should be called, at the same time, mortal and immortal.

2. But it is necessary that this observation be taken in connexion with another, of no less importance in relation to this subject. It is, that the word *πατηρ* is most commonly employed in the Sacred Scriptures‡ to denote the nature or substance of God generally, and that *Θεός*, for the most part, is used in the New Testament, in the same sense, though sometimes employed to designate a particular person in the Godhead. Both these propositions may be readily demonstrated. For proof of the former we may refer to the general usage of the sacred writers respecting the words *κύριος* and *πατηρ*, or more particularly to those passages in which this name is ascribed to God,§ as the creator and preserver of mankind at large, or as the special benefactor of individuals with whom he has deigned to hold an intimate communion. And that this interpretation is equally applicable to those passages where he is called the Father of Jesus Christ, may be argued from the fact, that the man Jesus owed his origin to an immediate act of divine power, (on which account he

* See Less' *Vers. einer. prakt. Dogmatik*. Art. VIII. Sect. I. n. viii. x. xi. Doederlein's *Instit. Theol. Christ.* P. II. § 251, p. 768. (1st ed.) Zachariae *Bibl. Theol.* P. III. § 156. seqq.

† See Baumgarten's *Untersuch. Theol. streitigkeiten*. Volume I. 1762. p. 238. seqq.

‡ See Doederlein's *Inst. Theol. Chr.* P. I. § 104, p. 312. (1st ed.)

§ See Mal. i. 6; ii. 10. Deut. xxxii. 6. Ps. lxxxix. 27. Isaiah lxiii. 16; lxiv. 7. Matt. v. 16, 48; vi. 4; vii. 11. John viii. 41, (compared with v. 54.) Rom. i. 7. Eph. i. 2.

is called the Son of God, Luke i. 35,) and sustained a peculiar relation to the Deity.

As to the word Θεός, the assertion that it has a variety of meanings in the New Testament,* can scarcely be disputed or disproved by those who are themselves in the habit of ascribing to it a diversity of senses, far more inconsistent with each other than those assumed by us. To an impartial mind, therefore, there can be no difficulty in perceiving that these passages of scripture, which, in themselves considered, would appear to militate against Christ's Deity, may be readily and fairly reconciled with those which describe him as God, identical with the Father. It may be well, however, to illustrate more particularly, the general observations which have here been made, and to view them in application to the most important texts cited by our opponents to oppugn our doctrine.

1. It has often, and in various ways, been proved, that those passages which describe the Father as the Most High God, at the same time distinguished him from the Son, are not inconsistent with the doctrine of the Deity of Christ. For example, in these words of Christ himself; (John xvii. 3;) *And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* The words, *only true God*, are designed to contrast the Father with the idols of the heathen, not with Christ; for the context† seems to intimate distinctly that the first clause of the sentence, [*thee the only true God*,] has reference particularly to the Gentiles, and the latter, [*Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*,] to the Jews, or, perhaps to both. Whether, therefore, we consider μόνον as referring to the subject or the predicate,‡ the expressions of this text cannot

* For example, John i. 1. (ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.)

† See Noessett's *Progr. paschale*, 1782; and Storr *über den Zweck*, &c. p. 462.

‡ See Miller's *Compend. Theol. Polemicæ*. Lips. 1768. p. 90, &c.

be understood as denying to Christ the character and dignity of the true God.

Again, the words of Paul, (1 Cor. viii. 6,)—*To us there is but one God, the Father, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, and we by him*—contain nothing incompatible with our doctrine. It is plain that the preposition εἰς, [*in,*] is to be taken in connexion, not with πατὴρ, but with Θεός, and is used to express a contrast with Gentile polytheism, (see v. 5.) And as to the circumstance of Christ's being here distinguished from the Father, that is certainly no proof that what is asserted affirmatively of the latter, is asserted negatively of the former. Is there not just as obvious a distinction drawn in John v. 20, where notwithstanding, the same power and operations are ascribed alike to both? Or, waving that, why may we not suppose, that it was the design of Paul to set God, generally, [πατέρα,] and Christ particularly, in successive opposition to the imaginary beings, called among the Heathen, Θεοὶ and Κυριοί, Gods and Lords? Or even admitting the hypothesis of Clarke,* that πατὴρ denotes only the first person in the Godhead, the case is just as plain. Can any one suppose, that because Christ is called εἰς κυρίος,† the κυριότης or Lordship of the Father is denied? If not, how

* See *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. London, 1712. P. I. ch. I. § 1. p. 5; also, P. II. § 9. p. 245.

† Clarke assumes, upon mere conjecture, and in the face of facts, that Θεός (v. 5.) denotes the superior Deities, and κυρίος the inferior deities, and that, consequently, κυρίος, in v. 6, must also mean an inferior deity. (*Script. Doct.* p. 6.)

Teller, in explaining κυρίος by *Magister*, (See his *Dictionary of the N. T.* under the word *Herr*,) appears to have disregarded altogether the connexion between the fifth and sixth verses. But, even admitting this interpretation, it does not follow, that the Deity of Christ is denied in the text before us. It is clear from the consideration above stated that the apostle may have intended to distinguish Christ, merely as a man, from God.

can we argue, that because the Father is here called *ὁ Θεός*, the *Θεότης* or *Godhead* of the Son is so denied?

It has been maintained by many, that the words *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* (a phrase, be it observed, which is sometimes used in relation to the Father, as in Rom. xi. 36, and Heb. ii. 10,) is to be understood in this case as implying the inferiority of Christ; but no proofs have been adduced in support of the assertion.*

With respect to those passages, which expressly describe Christ as inferior to the Father, or ascribe to him actions and affections incompatible with Godhead, we hold that they may all be fairly understood as referring, either generally to his human nature, or particularly to the man Jesus' state of humiliation and exaltation. That the language of John, xiv. 28.† Mark xiii. 32.‡ Heb. v. 7, and other kindred

* In Matt. xix. 17, it is probable, that Christ accommodated his expressions to the notion that he was a mere man, and meant to say nothing more than this: *If you deny that I am God you ought not to call me good.* As to Eph. iv. 6: consult Miller's *Comp. Theol. Polem.* p. 91.

† The words, *If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto my Father*, render it probable, that Christ intended to contrast, not his own nature with the nature of the Father, but the humble condition in which he himself then was, with the celestial glory of the Father, in which he expected shortly to participate. (See John xvii. 5, 24.) That the *usus loquendi* will justify this explanation of *μνησκον*, as denoting a happier and more glorious condition, has been shown, from a comparison of Gen. xxvi. 13, by Storr (*über den Zweck*, &c. p. 460.)

‡ It is by no means a happy explanation of this passage, which many have borrowed from the words of Hilary, (*de trinitate*, ix.) "*Id, quod nescit, non nesciendi infirmitas est, sed aut tempus est non loquendi, aut dispensatio est non agendi. Ea nescit quae, aut in tempore non sunt confitenda, aut non agnoscuntur ad meritum.*" As to the conjecture of some respecting the genuineness and origin of this verse, (which has no parallel in the other gospels,) though specious,

passages, will bear this explanation, can scarcely be doubted, if it be admitted that Jesus was a man, and that his condition while on earth, was by no means an exalted one. On the other hand, we believe that in Phil. ii. 9, &c. Math. xxviii. 18. 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28,* and the like, the state of glory to which the same man Jesus, after his passion, was translated, is either alluded to, or explicitly described. But

it is not necessary for the vindication of our doctrine. I think it a supposition perfectly reconcileable with a belief in the Deity of Christ, that the *man* Jesus, while upon earth, though united with the *logos*, knew nothing about the time of the last judgment,

* The language of Paul in the 28th verse falls, probably, within the number of *things hard to be understood*, mentioned in 2 Peter, iii. 16. I think, however, that the chief difficulty of the passage arises from a comparison with Heb. i. 3, and Luke i. 33, and is, besides, common to us with the Arians and Socinians. Let them explain, with any show of probability, the meaning of *υποτασσεται*, and the import of the phrase *παρὰ τὴν βεβαιότητα*, in v. 24, and we will undertake to show, that the expressions so explained, may be applied to the *man Jesus*, without impeaching the divinity of the *logos*. For example, let us take up the interpretation of Th. Emlyn, who, in his *Humble Inquiry into the Deity of Christ*, thus paraphrases the 27th verse: "Then the Son himself shall be subject;—that is, his subjection shall be then manifested by an open solemn acknowledgment of it, when he shall recognise the supremacy of the Father in that public act of surrender. (Collection of Tracts relative to the Deity, worship, and satisfaction, of the Lord Jesus Christ. London, 1731. Vol. I.) Now, it is evident, that this explanation of the terms may be made to harmonize fully with the sentiment of those who believe them to relate to the *man Jesus*, and not to some other spirit, as supposed by Emlyn. Emlyn adds, indeed, that "as there is no intimation of any distinction between the pretended two natures of the Son here; so there is enough in the words to show, that they are spoken of him, under his highest capacity and character." Now we deny that there was any occasion for such an explicit intimation as he here alludes to, though we admit what he afterwards asserts; viz. that the words in v. 27, are spoken of the man Jesus, *under his highest capacity and character*.

besides these, there are some texts in the New Testament which describe Christ generally as a man, or indicate his peculiar relation to the Deity. Such are 1 Cor. xi. 3, and other parallel passages; as well as many of those in which Christ is called the Son of God. For we hold it to be clear from the import of the terms employed, and from the context* of innumerable passages, that this name (*the Son of God*,) is applied to Jesus *as a man*, and applied to him for this reason among others, that he was the *image of the invisible God*, and intimately united with him as well as the object of his special favor. Every child knows, that in the Sacred Scriptures men are often called the sons of God, on account of some remarkable connexion with the Deity; or because they were the objects of God's special favor; or because they, in some sense, resembled God himself.† Now, is it not evident, that all these reasons join in one, to render the name in question pre-eminently applicable to that man, who sustained a relation to the Deity, which no prophet ever had sustained, (John i. 14; x. 38; xiv. 10,) and who, as the scriptures explicitly inform us, was the image of the Father, (Col. i. 15,) and beloved above all the other sons of God? (Math. xvii. 5. Col. i. 13. John iii. 35.) There can be no doubt, therefore, that the title, *Son of God*, would have been perfectly appropriate to Jesus, considered merely as a

* We admit, that in some cases, (such as John i. 14, 18. Matt. xxviii. 19,) the name *υιος θεου* though properly belonging to Christ's human nature, is used to designate the *λογος* which dwelt in him, for the purpose of distinguishing it from the first person of the Godhead. As to those, however, who imagine that the words *υιος θεου* in such cases are designed to indicate the relation of the second person to the first, they can only repel the objections of the Homoeusians and Arians, by denying that they hold the relation indicated by this phrase, to be a relation of inferiority, or by adopting that definition of *generation* mentioned in a former note. (See p. 163, note †.)

† e. g. Gen. vi. 2. Ps. lxxxii. 6. Luke xx. 36. John i. 12. 1 John iii. 1, &c.

man. And it is no less clear, that this interpretation harmonizes fully with the context of many passages;* such as Heb. i. 5. Rom. viii. 29, 32; but particularly John x. 31; a text often cited to oppugn our doctrine. In the latter, Jesus repels the charge of blasphemy which the Jews brought against him, by arguing thus:—any ordinary man may call himself the son of God, without being guilty necessarily of blasphemy—how much more, he who has claims to the title in its highest sense, and on the strongest grounds. He first proves from the sacred writings of the Jews, that some mere men had been properly called *Gods* and *sons of God*, citing for this purpose, Ps. lxxxii. 6, where God himself says to the Jews, *I have said ye are אֱלֹהִים and בְּנֵי עֲלִיּוֹן*. And the conclusion which he draws, that even a mere man, if united by resemblance to the Deity, may be called a *son of God*, is strengthened by the fact, that in the Psalm from which he quotes, the Judges, who are dignified by this high appellation, are censured and condemned. Now if the name—he argues, in v. 36—be applicable to such magistrates, how much more justly may it be applied, in its widest and most elevated sense, to him ὃν ὁ πατήρ ἡγίασε και ἀπεστείλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, whom the Father hath sent into the world to be revered as one wholly distinguished from all others.† In calling himself ἡγιασμενον, Christ had reference here to his intimate conjunction with the Deity, as appears from the 37th and 38th verses, as well as from the language of parallel passages. In those two verses he is evidently urging, that his miracles ought to lead the Jews to repose implicit confidence in all his declarations, but espe-

* See Doederlein's *Instit. Theol. Christ.* P. I. § 105. Obs. 1. p. 313. (1st ed.)

† It is well known, that according to the Hebrew idiom, of two words, placed in juxta-position, the latter often determines, and qualifies the former.

cially in what he had asserted (v. 30,) respecting his own connexion with the Deity. And this supposition is confirmed by John v. 20, (and the following verses,) a passage so parallel to this, that it may serve as a commentary on it. At the same time it is not improbable that he had reference in this case to his previous discourse with the Jews (recorded in chap. v.) and on that account expressed himself with greater brevity.

Enough has now been said to show that the difficulties with which our doctrine respecting the Deity of Christ is encumbered, are not sufficient to outweigh the arguments in its favor. In order, however, that it may appear more clearly how much that doctrine is to be preferred to the various theories which have been proposed in opposition to it, we shall now turn our attention to the latter, briefly stating the arguments which have been used in favor of the principal hypothesis, and the objections which may be urged against them.

1. The first who present themselves to our attention are such as deny both the *personality* and *consubstantiality* of the λογος, (or at least the former,) and maintain, that Christ was a mere man, who had no individual personality before he was born of Mary, but from the time either of his birth or of his entrance into the office of a teacher, was intimately united with the Deity, endowed by him with extraordinary gifts and virtues, and invested by him, after death, with the power and glory of the Godhead. It is probable that most of those who have held, with Noetus* and Praxeas†, that the Deity generally—or with John Leclerc‡ and

* *Epiphanii panar.* lvii.

† *Tertullian contra Prax.* cxvi. p. 229. Semler's ed. xviii. p. 231.

‡ Leclerc, in his book called *Libanii de sancto amore Epist. Theolog.* (Irenop. 1679,) p. 18, says: "Since God being infinite, can think of various objects at one and the same time, we can conceive of there being in God, *the Father*—i. e. the divine nature think-

others that God *certo modo cogitans*—was united personally with the man Jesus, have been led to that conclusion by a comparison of the passages which declare the unity of God, with those which assert the divinity of Christ. We have already shown, however, that these passages (upon which the Noetians and Modalists founded their hypothesis) do not militate against our doctrine, and that the latter harmonizes much the best with John i. 1, 14, 18; xvii. 5, and many other texts. These we believe to be sufficient reasons for considering our doctrine as the better of the two; though at the same time, we cheerfully admit, that, as a promotive of piety, and a source of internal peace and comfort, it has no advantage over that of the Noetians and the Modalists.

2. At a much greater distance from our doctrine stands that of the Socinians generally, (not to mention Sabellius, Artemon, and others in detail,) who have followed Photinus in regarding Christ as a mere man born of Mary,* but endowed with extraordinary gifts, and, after death, exalted by the Most High God to almighty power and supreme command.

Those who hold these sentiments, however, are divided among themselves, as to the worship due to Christ, some

ing in one particular way—the Son, and the Holy Spirit, i. e. the same, nature thinking in two other different ways. In this way, we can properly conceive of there being one God, i. e. one divine nature, but various modes of thinking pertaining to that nature, and in this way conflicting passages of Sacred Scriptures may readily be reconciled. And in fact, the scriptures indicate no difference between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, except in the mode of acting or thinking, for with spirits, thought and action are identical." He adds, on p. 21, that in his opinion, the divine and human natures were so far united in the person of Christ, that the names and qualities of both may be ascribed to him, just as mental and corporeal qualities may be ascribed to man.

* See the chapter of the *Racovian Catechism* on the person of Christ, p. 120. ed. Oeder and Joh. Crellius de uno Deo patre libri duo. Irenop. 1656.

holding with Socinus and Blandrata, that he ought to be worshipped though a mere man, while C. Franken and others maintain the contrary.* To draw a fair comparison therefore, between their doctrine and our own, we must examine, first, those points upon which Socinians all agree, and then those on which the contending parties differ.

In the first place, then, the opinion common to all Socinians respecting the nature of Christ, and the power conferred upon him after death, if brought to the standard of right reason, is encumbered with difficulties far more serious than those which attend our doctrine. We have already shown, that the charge of contradiction, brought against us by the disciples of Socinus, is a mere assumption and incapable of proof. The incomprehensibility of that relation which as we believe, exists between the Father and the Son, cannot be urged as an argument against it, least of all by the Socinians, if they have any desire to appear consistent. For what can be more incomprehensible than that a mere man should be exalted so far as to become a partner in the Divine power and government, an association really impossible without a participation in the nature of the Deity. If you ask for scriptural proofs, you will find in the writings of Socinians† such a vast accumulation of authorities, that if the controversy were to be determined by number instead of weight, they would undoubtedly prevail. Thus they appeal to all those passages, already mentioned, in which the affections and infirmities of human nature are attributed to Christ, or which represent his extraordinary prerogatives above the rest of men as having been bestowed upon him by the Father merely as rewards. (Phil. ii. 9, &c.)‡ But

* See the controversy between Faustus Socinus and Chr. Franken *de honore Christi* in the *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* T. p. 767, &c.

† See the book of J. Crellius, quoted above.

‡ We can scarcely think it strange that Jesus should have spoken less clearly and explicitly than his apostles after him, respecting the

when we consider that all these passages, without exception, may be explained conformably to our opinions, without doing violence to the principles of interpretation; whereas, on the other hand, the language of Christ and his apostles, which was cited and discussed in the former section, is utterly irreconcilable with their hypothesis, we cannot but conclude that the doctrines, held by Socinians in common, are wholly at variance with the word of God. And this conviction of the falsehood of those doctrines becomes stronger, when we come to observe the mutual disagreement of Socinians themselves, on the point above mentioned,—*the worshipping of Christ*.

As to those who hold with Franken,* that adoration is not due to Christ, the impossibility of reconciling their opinion with such passages as John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. Phil. ii. 10, 11,

relation which he bore to God the Father, and that he never declared himself the creator of the world (an argument apparently in the Socinians' favor), when we consider that a different method would have been unworthy of the divine wisdom, which required that the Jews should be drawn off, *by slow degrees*, from their too contracted notions respecting the unity of God, and gradually imbibe just sentiments in relation to the person of the Messiah. Besides, it was the design of the Almighty, that Jesus should, for our sakes, spend his days on earth in a state of humiliation, which evidently forbade his manifesting, clearly and habitually, the glory of the Godhead which dwelt in him. (Phil. ii. 6.) But when he had undergone the sufferings imposed upon him, for the good of men, and had received his recompense in being raised to the highest dignity, having become a participator in the Divine power, and clothed with supreme command over the most exalted spirits, then, indeed, it was altogether proper, that the Divinity of Christ should be exhibited, even among men, in all its brightness.

* Among the modern advocates of this opinion may be mentioned Lindsey, whose arguments have been refuted in a book called "Remarks on Mr. Lindsey's Dissertation upon praying to Christ, in which the arguments he there proposes against the lawfulness of all religious addresses to the Lord Jesus, are examined."

(comp. Isa. xlv. 24,) has been ably demonstrated by Socinus himself.*

* See the controversy between Socinus and Franken, before cited; also Socinus' *Letter de Invocatione Christi*, in the *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* T. I. p. 353. "From this passage, (John v. 23,) we learn, that God would have all men honor the Son as they honor the Father: it is clear, therefore, that the same sort of honor is due to Christ that is due to God himself, and that he must, consequently, be adored. For adoration is, unquestionably, the sort of honor which we owe to God. The word *as* does not, indeed, necessarily, imply a perfect resemblance, but it certainly must imply a peculiar resemblance of some sort. For if a mere general resemblance were denoted consisting in the fact that both are to be honored, the addition of the words—*as they honor the Father*—would be superfluous and nugatory. Nor let any one suppose, that this ascription of equal honors to both, means nothing more than this, that the instructions and commands of Christ are to be as much regarded as the instructions and commands of God. For the reason assigned is, that God has *committed all judgment* unto Christ; i. e. the whole control and management of the church. It appears, then, from these words of Christ himself, to be God's will, that he should be worshipped and receive divine honors; which exposition of the divine will is equivalent to a command. It follows, therefore, that we are *commanded* to worship Christ. Besides, you will perceive from the very words themselves, that the power and authority bestowed on Christ is such as of itself to intimate, that he should be adored. We have another authority expressly to the same effect, Heb. i. 6, where the words of Ps. xcvi. 7, are obviously applied to Christ, for the purpose of showing his pre-eminence above the angels, from the fact that he is entitled to their adoration. It need not here be proved, that even if the words are addressed in the Psalm to God himself, the Divine writer was at liberty to make an application of them to Christ, unless, indeed, we question his authority, as well as that of the other writers of the sacred volume. Now if Christ ought to be adored by all the angels of God, how much more by men, over whom he is more properly Lord and King." It is scarcely necessary to observe, that these and other arguments adduced by Faustus Socinus, may, with a few slight alterations, be employed with equal force, by the advocates of our opinion against the same hypothesis. With respect to John v. 23, see Storr *über den Zweck*, &c. p. 198.

Those, on the other hand, who maintain that he should be worshipped, at the same time denying his divinity, involve themselves in a difficulty equally perplexing. The Old Testament teaches most explicitly, that religious worship is due to none but Jehovah, the creator of the heavens and the earth. (Isa. xlii. 8; xlviii. 11. seqq. Jer. x. 11, &c.) Nor, is it credible, that God himself, or Christ, or Christ's apostles, after recognizing, so distinctly, the divine authority, and confirming so expressly the doctrines of the Prophets, would have stooped to the inconsistency of claiming divine honors for a *creature*, by exhibiting a *man*, *ἄνθρωπος ὡς Θεὸς*, (Gal. iv. 8.) as an object of worship to the Gentiles? The weight with which this difficulty bears upon those who hold the doctrines of the Racovian Catechism, is apparent from the very ingenuity of the arguments, offensive and defensive, which Socinus has invented for the purpose of evading it. That acute controvertist argues,* that, even admitting the exclusive application of the command respecting worship, to God alone, as originally given by the mouth of the prophets, it does not necessarily follow, that it continued equally exclusive *after Christ's glorification*. But he maintains that no such concession need be made, because the command to worship God alone, may be understood in such a way, that the word *alone* will not exclude such beings as are *subordinate to God*: Besides, the adoration of Christ will appear less derogatory to the honor of the Most High, when it is considered that all worship rendered to the Son, must redound to the honor of the Father from whom he derives his power, and that the worship due to God, and the worship due to Christ,† though generically the same, are by no means identical.

* See Socinus' Letter, *de Invocatione Christi*. in the *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* p. 354.

† See the Letter quoted above, and the *Racovian Catechism*. Qu. 245. p. 447. ed. Oeder.

It is easy, however, to perceive, that there is much more ingenuity than truth, and very little consistency withal, in this reasoning of Socinus and his followers. For how can it be asserted with any appearance of truth, that a divine decree, not local or temporary in its nature, but derived from the very nature of the Deity, and implied in the very idea of creation, was abrogated even after Christ's exaltation, when, in fact, it is most clearly taught after that event, by the apostles of Christ himself? (Gal. iv. 8, 9. *) As to the assertion that the command to worship God alone, is to be understood as not excluding those subordinate to God; it appears to me, to be irreconcilable with God's design of drawing the Israelites off from every form of polytheism—as well as with the explicit declarations of the prophets, (Jer. x. 11, Isa. xliii. 10. &c.) and the plain expressions of the New Testament. (Matt. iv. 10.† Gal. ix. 8, 9. Rev. xix. 10.) Not a whit more plausible is the argument added by Socinus and the Racovian Catechism respecting the difference between the honors due to Christ, and those due to God himself.‡ It is notorious, that the very same expressions which are used in the Old Testament in claiming divine honors for Jehovah, are used in the New Testament respecting Christ, (compare

* To which may be added, Rev. xix. 10.

† If the hypothesis of Socinus be correct, Christ ought not to have derived his answer to the tempter, from the precept which he quotes, but from this consideration, that as the tempter was not *subordinate* to God, (that is, one whom God had made his minister,) nor clothed with such power as he pretended, he was not entitled even to a subordinate degree of worship. For it is wholly incredible, that Satan who himself derived his power from a superior, meant to demand the worship due to the Supreme Being. (See Luke iv. 6.)

‡ The general idea of *divine honors* is defined in the Racovian Catechism, (Qu. 212—215, p. 432. ed. Oeder,) in a way which can scarcely be reconciled with the doctrine of the same book respecting the honor due to Christ, (Qu. 236. p. 442,) and the difference between that honor and the honor due to God, (Qu. 245. p. 447.)

Heb. i. 6, with Ps. xcvi. 7, and Phil. ii. 10, 11, with Isa. xlv. 23, 24,) nor is there any thing in the context which requires that the words should be understood as implying an inferior sort of worship.

But admitting that the words in question do not denote the highest sort of worship, and that the exegetical and philosophical principles upon which Faustus Socinus and his followers build their hypothesis respecting the nature of Christ, and the worship due to him, are altogether valid—I would ask, how can it possibly be proved, consistently with those principles, that the highest sort of worship is due to the Father, or that none at all is due to angels? In proof of the former proposition, they cite 1 Cor. viii. 6. (But, to borrow the Socinian mode of interpretation,) may not *Θεός* signify some inferior and created Deity? May it not be gathered from this passage, that the Father is merely *Θεός ἡμῶν*, and not the Most High God? That cannot be, say they; for he is also said to be *Εἰς Θεός, the one God, ἐξ οὗ τα πάντα, of whom are all things.* But is not Christ in this very same verse (compare Eph. iv. 5.) called *Εἰς κυρίος, one Lord*, without excluding the idea of a superior Lord? And is it not clear from John i. 3, and Col. i. 16, that the phrase *τα πάντα* in many cases does not mean *all things* in the very widest sense?

Again, they appeal to the language of Christ himself, in John xvii. 3. But the word *μόνον*, Socinians themselves being judges, is often used, especially in relation to Jehovah, in such a way as to exclude only idols or false gods.

In addition to these and other passages,* in which the Father is expressly mentioned, they bring forward many others

* Such as Eph. iv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5, &c. It is unnecessary, however, to consider these texts separately, not only because they afford less striking evidence than John xvii. 3, and 1 Cor. viii. 6; but also, because what is said in relation to the latter, will apply as well to them.

which apparently ascribe the highest sort of worship to *God* or *Jehovah*. But may not the command to worship Jehovah and him alone, have been a mere temporary institution? Or even waving that objection, how can it be proved, agreeably to Socinian principles, that προσκυνειν and λατρευειν in Matt. iv. 10, (compare Deut. vi. 13, and Heb. i. 6,) denote the highest sort of adoration, or that the words αυτω μονω, are not merely exclusive of the false gods of the heathen, but imply that worship is due to no one whatever but Jehovah? It may be answered, that the highest worship is unquestionably due to Him who is the creator of the universe, and who, *of himself*, has omnipotent authority over us; and we freely grant it. But how will the Socinian prove, that the being called Jehovah or the Father, is the creator of the universe, and of himself, possesses divine power? May not those passages which are generally interpreted as relating to the creation of the universe, be understood in relation to a mere renovation of the *earth*? May it not be supposed that the creative power exerted by Jehovah, as well as the power which he exercises over men and spirits, is derived from some superior Deity? For that the words כָּרַח and κτισειν often mean mere *reformation*, and that the attributes of God may be imparted to a creature, no Socinian can consistently deny. It appears, then, that Socinus and his partisans are utterly unable to demonstrate the great fundamental doctrine of their creed, that the Father alone is God in the highest sense, and is alone entitled to the highest sort of worship.

But they involve themselves in another difficulty, which appears to me inextricable. They deny that it is lawful to render to angels any species of religious worship. In this very denial, however, they seem to be at variance with their own principles. For if worship is due to Christ, not on account of his essential nature, but because of the power which he possesses,* and which Socinians regard as absolute,

* See *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* Tom. II. pp. 769, 775.

but inferior to God's, and consequently finite, why may not the angels who are also clothed with power—inferior, indeed, to Christ's, but notwithstanding, great* be adored in a proportionate degree? Is it because the glory of the Most High God would thereby be diminished? No, for the honor rendered to the angels on account of the power conferred on them by God, must redound to the glory of God himself. Is it because we are commanded in Matt. iv. 10, (compare Deut. vi. 13,) to worship God alone? No, for Socinians themselves understand the word *alone* as not excluding those who are *subordinate to God*. For the same reason, their favourite argument derived from the words of the angel to John, forbidding him to worship him, and commanding him to worship God alone, is futile. For who could use this argument, if like F. Socinus, he interpreted the command to worship in a different manner from the angel who conversed with John. It is true that the worship of angels is no where

* That angels are clothed with extraordinary power, and exercise no small authority over the earth and its inhabitants, is plainly taught in various parts of the Sacred Scriptures, particularly in the Apocalypse, the divine authority of which, is acknowledged by Socinians. It appears, indeed, to have been admitted by Faustus Socinus, who (*Bibl. Fr. Pol.* Tom. I. p. 791,) after asserting that the angels are possessed of great glory, and some authority, proceeds as follows: "As to the argument, [urged by those who deny that the words of God, in Gen. i. 26, were addressed to angels,] that it is not allowable to make the angels in any sense, partners of the Deity, in the creation of the world; we reply, that such reasoning is perfectly irrelevant, since nothing is more certain, than that God does communicate his own peculiar attributes to such of his creatures as he makes his instruments. We read, that man was first formed from the dust of the earth, and that afterwards the breath of life was breathed or blown into his face, (or rather nostrils). Now, although this is said to have been done by God himself, it can scarcely be doubted that he did it by the agency of angels. It is evident, indeed, from the expressions, *formed and breathed.*"

enjoined upon Christians in the scriptures. But that a thing may be lawful, though not positively commanded, is self-evident, and can scarcely be disputed by Socinus, who maintains that the *invocation* of Christ (which he distinguishes from *adoration*,*) though not commanded, is allowable; and that, if no command existed to the contrary, adoration itself would have been due to him.

But to pursue this any longer would carry us too far. Enough has now been said to demonstrate the inconsistency of those Socinians who admit that worship is due to Christ. On the whole, we feel ourselves justified in saying, that the higher Socinians place Christ, the more they are inconsistent with themselves and sound philosophy—and the lower they place him, the more they are at war with the plainest declarations of the New Testament.† There can be no doubt, therefore, that, all things considered, our doctrine is more rational and credible than that maintained by Socinians of either class.

3. We must now consider briefly the sentiments of those who believe, with us, that a personal distinction existed between the Father and the Son before Jesus was born of

* *Bibl. Fratr. Polon.* T. I. p. 354.

† S. Przypcov entertains higher views of Christ than F. Socinus. He declares (in his works, p. 452, &c.) that Christ partook of both the divine and human nature, but that both did not co-exist in him at once; the nature of the Son of God, who now reigns in heaven, being not human, but celestial and divine. But if this be so, it necessarily follows, that the human soul of Christ was annihilated, and a spirit substituted for it, endowed with all the attributes of God; a supposition, I need scarcely say completely at variance with the declaration of the Sacred Scriptures, that the same man Jesus, who was, on earth, now reigns in heaven, as well as with the doctrine of the unity of God, which cannot be reconciled with Przypcov's hypothesis, that all the peculiar attributes of God, and all the eternal concomitants of the divine essence and nature, are inherent in Christ since his exaltation.

Maty, but define the nature of that distinction in such a way as to reject the idea of consubstantiality. To this class belong, 1. the *Tritheists*, if any such there are, who believe that the *ousia* of the Father and the Son are precisely equal, but not numerically identical. 2. Those who hold that the nature of Christ is super-angelic as well as super-human, but regard the Son as inferior to the Father. The former hypothesis is so palpably inconsistent with the doctrine of the unity of God, that it needs no refutation. In examining the latter, we shall pass by the rigid Arians, and confine ourselves very much to those who hold, with the ancient *Homoeusians*, that the Son is *similis κατ' ομοίαν* to the Father, or, with Clarke* and others, that the Son partakes of all the

* "The Father alone," says Clarke, "is self-existent, underived, unoriginated, independent; made of none, begotten of none, proceeding from none. (*Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. P. II. § 5.) The Father is the sole origin of all power and authority, and is the author and principal of whatsoever is done by the Son or by the Spirit. (ib. § 6.) The Father alone is in the highest, strict, and proper sense, absolutely supreme over all. (§ 7.) The Son is not self-existent, but derives his being, or essence, and all his attributes, from the Father, as from the supreme cause. (§ 12.) In what particular metaphysical manner the Son derives his being or essence from the Father, the scripture has no where distinctly declared; and therefore men ought not to presume to be able to define. (§ 13.) The scripture in declaring the Son's derivation from the Father, never makes mention of any limitation of time; but always supposes and affirms him to have existed with the Father from the beginning, and before all worlds. (§ 15.) Whether the Son derives his being from the Father, by necessity of nature, or by the power of his will, the scripture hath no where expressly declared. (§ 17.) By the operation of the Son, the Father both made and governs the world. (§ 26.) Concerning the Son, there are the greatest things spoken in scripture, and the highest titles ascribed to him; even such as include all divine powers, excepting absolute supremacy and independency, which to suppose communicable is an express contradiction in terms. (§ 27.) The Son, whatever his metaphysical essence or substance be, and whatever divine greatness and dignity is ascribed to him in scripture; yet in

communicable attributes of God, but in the mode of his existence and the order of his operation, is inferior to the Father.

The advocates of this doctrine are of opinion, that the language of such passages as John xiv. 28. 1 Cor. xi. 3; xv. 28. Col. i. 15. Phil. ii. 6, &c., can in no way be reconciled so well with those which ascribe the creation of the world and the possession of the highest divine attributes to Christ, as by supposing that the *λογος*, though endowed with the attributes of Deity, is in some way generated or produced by the Father, and subordinate to him in all his acts. And it must be confessed, that among the many texts which speak of Christ, if you except Rom. ix. 5, there is scarcely one which may not be readily explained on the Homoeusian and Clarkian hypotheses, and that some, when considered in themselves without reference to the context, admit of a more satisfactory explanation upon the principles of Clarke than those of the Homoeusians. But since there are none at all which may not be reconciled with our doctrine without doing violence to the principles of interpretation,* the whole con-

this he is evidently subordinate to the Father, that he derives his being and attributes from the Father, the Father nothing from him. (§ 34.) Every action of the Son, both in making the world and in all his other operations, is only the exercise of the Father's power, communicated to him after an ineffable manner. (§ 35.)

* As to Col. i. 15, on which Harwood and others lay such stress, the words *πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως* may be understood in application to Christ's human nature, exalted above all creatures on account of its union with the Deity, or in reference to the *λογος* in the same sense in which God himself (as Wolff observes,) is called by the Jews *primogenitus mundi*. (See Doederlein's *Instit. Th. Christ.* P. II. p. 257. 3d ed.) And as to Phil. ii. 6—8, though I do not agree with those who regard it as an argument for the Deity of Christ, I think it has been clearly shown by some celebrated interpreters, that this passage may be readily explained in accordance with our doctrine, by referring the expressions in v. 6—8, (or at least in v. 8,) to Christ's human

trovery evidently resolves itself into the question, whether the hypotheses of the Homoeusians, and of Clarke, are more consistent with themselves, with the scriptures, and with sound philosophy, and are encumbered with fewer difficulties than our doctrine. That they are not, we have already shown. (p. 2.) But admitting for a moment, that the arguments which we have urged are not conclusive against the objections of the Homoeusians; admitting, that the unity of the creator or Most High God is not so clearly taught in the scriptures, as to destroy the force of their arguments against it; still we may demonstrate the inconsistency of their hypothesis, by applying to it, with a few modifications, the arguments which we have urged above against the Socinians, who admit that Christ is to be worshipped. For let it be granted, that the passages which inculcate the worship of one God, are not to be understood exclusively; that the words which signify adoration, are sometimes used to denote a subordinate species of worship; that the divine attributes are communicable to a spirit distinct from the Most High God—granting all this, how can it after all be proved, that the being called Father and Jehovah in the scriptures, is, indeed, the supreme and independent God? Can it be inferred from the phrase, *one God*, applied to him in 1 Cor. viii. 6? Is not Christ in the same verse, called *one Lord*, though according to the Homoeusians and Arians, subordinate to another Lord?*

nature. (See Zacharia's *Bibl. Th.* III. Th. p. 201. Doederlein's *Inst. Theol. Chr.* P. II. § 231. obs. 4. Storr's *Dissert. in Epist. ad Philipp.* Tübingen. 1783. p. 18.) On the other passages see our remarks above, (p. 164, &c.) in addition to which we have only this to say, that there is not a passage in the Bible, which asserts, that any perfection or dignity was *bestowed* upon Christ by God before his incarnation.

* That the fourth verse is not more favorable to the Homoeusian and Clarkian hypothesis, will be apparent on a comparison of that verse with Isa. xliii. 10, 11, and xlv. 6—8. As to the supposition.

Or from Christ's repetition of the words of Moses in Deut. vi. 4? (See Mark xii. 29.) But it must be admitted, even by those who maintain the Deity of Christ, that these words are to be understood in a restricted sense. Why then, may we not suppose, that they were intended merely to exclude the false gods of the Gentiles, or to assign to Jehovah the highest place among the Θεοὶ ἡμῶν, or gods who *pertain to us*. It is easy to draw the same conclusion, with respect to the other passages adduced by Clarke in his scripture doctrine of the Trinity, (P. I. Ch. I. § I.) But, say the Homoeusians and the followers of Clarke, the creation of the world is referred to the Father as a primary cause: for the Father is said (Heb. i. 2,) by the Son to have made the worlds. But even admitting that the Father was the primary agent in the creation of the world, how can it be inferred from this, that he is the supreme and independent God—by those too, who believe that an inferior spirit may be endowed with all the attributes required in the creator of a world? It follows, therefore, that the hypothesis of the Homoeusians and of Clarke, is inconsistent with itself;* a conclusion greatly

that, in all these texts the unity of the *Supreme* God is asserted, without denying the existence of a plurality of *true* Gods, I do not see how it can consist with the drift and context of the passages. In 1 Cor. viii. 6, particularly, those who are called Gods are placed in opposition, not to the *Supreme* God, as such, (for most of the Gentiles acknowledged one Supreme being,) but to the one *true* God. (See Gal. iv. 8, 9.)

* The same objection may be urged against the theory proposed by Paul Maty, though certainly ingenious and well calculated to remove some exegetical difficulties. He assumes, that the λόγος is a finite Spirit, produced by the infinite and uncreated Spirit called the *Father* in the scriptures, and personally united with him, before the creation of the world. (See Mosheim's *Modesta inquisitio in novam dogmatis de S. Trinitate explicatione, quam cl. P. Maty nuper proposuit*. Helmst. 1735, and Anton. Driessen's *Examen sententiæ quam D. P. Maty proposuit* Groningae. 1733.) Now I cannot see how it is

strengthened by the philosophical arguments which we have adduced above.* It may be observed in addition, that they are involved, in no small difficulty respecting Christ's *exin-anition*, as it is called. For besides that, it is unscriptural† to suppose such a change in the *λογος* as Arians and Homoeusians for the most part believe him to have undergone when he *was made flesh*; it is certainly quite as hard for human reason to comprehend how an exalted spirit could be thus thrust down into a state of infantile ignorance and weakness,‡ or how the divine wisdom could allow it, were it possible,§ as it is to understand the mysteries involved in our hypothesis.|| We have no hesitation, therefore, in drawing

possible for Maty to demonstrate his proposition respecting the *Father*, without contradicting himself. For suppose some one should contend that the *Father*, as well as the Son, is a finite spirit, and is called God (in 1 Cor. viii. 6) merely on account of his intimate union with the Deity, affirming that this hypothesis harmonizes better than that of Maty, with the baptismal formula in Matt. xxviii. 19. Can the followers of Maty possibly refute such a theory with any show of consistency? Besides, as Maty assumes the union of three natures, God, the *λογος*, and the man Jesus, his doctrine is certainly not less *mysterious* than ours.

* To which may be added, those adduced by Toellner, in his *Theol. Untersuch.* I. B. 1st. St. p. 33.

† See Heb. i. 12. *Συ ο αυτος ει.*

‡ This difficulty is not at all diminished by the hypothesis suggested by an anonymous author in Priestley's *Theological Repository*, Vol. I. p. 431, and in the *British Theological Magazine*, Vol. III. p. 802, that the *λογος* was changed into a human soul.

§ See Lardner's letter against the Arians, in the *Brit. Theol. Mag.* Vol. III. p. 731.

|| The Homoeusians, whom I have read, are not very happy in their explanation of those passages which relate to Christ's exaltation. I do not see how the supposition, that the reward of Christ consisted in the pleasurable consciousness of his own merits, (See *Br. Theol. Mag.* Vol. III.) can be reconciled with some expressions used by the apostles, descriptive of Christ's glory, (such as Phil.

the conclusion, that the hypothesis of the Homocousians and of Clarke respecting the divinity of Christ, plausible as it is, and in a practical point of view so nearly allied to ours, must, nevertheless, yield to the latter as being more harmonious with the whole tenor of the scriptures as well as more consistent with itself. That it is not, after all, wholly free from difficulties, can give offence to no one, who remembers the words of Paul (1 Cor. xiii. 9.) ΕΚ ΜΕΚΡΟΥΣ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΟΜΕΝ, *we know in part*.

ii. 9. compared with Eph. i. 20. Heb. i. 3; x. 12. &c.) And as to the hypothesis of Clarke (Scripture Doctrines, P. II. § 47.) that the *λογος*, who before his incarnation merely participated in the honors of *Jehovah*, was permitted, after death, as a reward for his services, to be worshipped as personally distinct from *Jehovah*, it would seem to imply that Christ enjoyed higher honors *before* than *after* his incarnation

THE MOSAIC HISTORY ACCORDANT WITH THE EXISTING
STATE OF THINGS.

1. It is remarkable, in the history of man, that his body is covered with artificial clothing; while all other animals have a natural covering suited to their condition and climate. Now, if man really needs clothing, why did his Creator place him in this wide world, unprovided with a natural covering, suited to his wants? It will not be satisfactory to answer, that man was endowed with reason, and was capable of providing clothing for himself: for reason would be too slow in its operations, for his comfort; it would have been long before he could discover the proper materials for clothing, and then, how could he, without instruction, have formed these materials into convenient garments? Upon mere principles of reason, there is something altogether unaccountable in this abandonment of man to the slow process of discovery.

But there is another remarkable circumstance connected with the artificial clothing of the human body, and that is the shame of nakedness, which is found in every tribe and nation under heaven, except a few miserable savages, who have by long separation from the rest of the human family, lost every particle of the common traditions of our race. Clothing for the purposes of warmth and defence, is not necessary in all climates; but every where, an attention is paid to covering the body, for the sake of decency. Reason dictates nothing of this kind. Among the other animals, there is no vestige of any such feeling. How then shall we account for these universal facts? In no other way,

than by referring to the Bible, which fully explains this whole mystery. Here we learn, that man was provided with no natural clothing, because, when created, and as long as he remained innocent, he needed no other garments, than the innocence of his character. He was placed in a garden, where the temperature was exactly adapted to his body ;—where no chilling blasts, no pinching frosts, no desolating storms, disturbed his tranquillity ; and as he needed no clothing for protection, so he felt no shame on account of his nakedness. In Paradise, man was richly provided with every thing necessary and comfortable, and was exposed to no dangers or accidents from the elements. We see then, that the munificent Creator did not turn man, his noblest work, loose upon the wide world, without the means of protecting himself. This event did, indeed, take place, but it was in punishment of man's disobedience ; and even then, he furnished him with clothes, from the skins of animals, and thus taught him how to provide for himself. But the origin of artificial clothing is given in the Bible, with such simplicity and beauty, that it will be worth our while to hear the whole narrative, as related in the sacred record.

“ And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.”

“ And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew, that they were naked, and they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons.”

“ And the Lord God called unto Adam and said unto him, where art thou ? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked. And he said, who told thee, that thou wast naked ?”

“ Unto Adam also and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.”

Here we have the true origin of artificial dress, and of the reasons which led to its use, which are sufficiently mortifying to male and female vanity, if they were duly considered.

There is much in this simple narrative which will serve to provoke the scoffing infidel to shoot his envenomed arrows of ridicule at the book of God ; but they will strike upon the shield of truth, and will fall harmless to the ground. He may ask with an air of triumph, how the eating of a certain tree could open the eyes of the first pair, to know that they were naked ? How could they be ignorant of their nakedness, if they had only the understanding of children ? But this is a mere perversion of the meaning of the inspired historian. In the figurative language of the Bible, the eyes are said to be opened, when a new feeling is introduced into the mind, causing us to see things as with new eyes. God has so constituted the human mind, that transgression produces the feelings of remorse and shame ; and he had so ordered things, in regard to our first parents, that as soon as they eat the forbidden fruit, a deep feeling of shame on account of nakedness, overwhelmed them. Why this particular effect was connected with their transgression, it is not necessary for us to know. We have the fact, and that fact seems to explain a circumstance in the history of man which would otherwise be inexplicable.

Many fanciful theories have been invented to account for these peculiar feelings, found in all branches of the human family ; but I will not pollute my paper by an exhibition of them here. The simple narrative of the Bible is enough, and exactly and remarkably accords with the facts universally observed to exist.

All nations make use of artificial clothing, for purposes of decency, if not for protection from the weather ; though no other species of animals is led by instinct to provide any clothing except that which nature furnishes. This remarkable fact inexplicable upon mere natural principles, is satisfactorily explained in the Mosaic history.

2. Among all nations, whether civilized or barbarous, we find existing, the institution of marriage ; and, almost uni-

versally, this compact is entered into with some solemnity or formality; and its violation is considered a crime of so serious a nature, that its punishment is very severe, and among some barbarous people, even capital. This universal existence of marriage does not appear to be the result of reason, but has been received by tradition; its origin is as ancient as the union of the first pair in Paradise. The Bible is our key to the universal fact. There we read, that when the Lord God had formed the woman out of the rib of man, he brought her to him, and "Adam said, this is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man; therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife and they shall be one flesh."

It appears very evident, that in this divine institution, it was intended that marriage should include no more than one woman: for the great Creator, in furnishing a model for future imitation, instituted the first marriage between one of each sex. Polygamy; therefore, which began to be practised before the deluge, and prevailed, and still prevails, extensively in the East, was a departure from the purity and simplicity of the original institution.

The history of those families and nations in which polygamy has been allowed, furnishes a strong argument in favor of the wisdom of confining man to one wife; for domestic strife, and innumerable other evils, have been occasioned by the practice.

The same thing is also demonstrated by that remarkable dispensation of providence, by which the number of the respective sexes, in all ages and countries, is very nearly equal:—the males generally being a small majority, that by the surplus, provision may be made for the greater waste of life in that sex, by their greater exposure to dangers. It has, I am aware, been asserted by some travellers, that in the countries where polygamy prevails, no such equality be-

tween males and females exists; the female sex being far more numerous than the males. This assertion, however, has never been verified by an appeal to any authentic documents; and there is reason to believe, that it has no foundation in fact. If true, it would be the strangest anomaly which can be found in the whole circle of providential events.

One great end of marriage is the nurture and good education of children; but it would be easy to show, that polygamy is destructive of this end, and is not even friendly to population. The prophet Malachi seems to refer to this subject, when he says, "And did he not make one? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed. Therefore, take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth."

3. On any principles except those contained in the Bible, it is impossible to explain the origin of articulate speech, among all the nations and tribes on the face of the earth. If men are of entirely distinct races, and language is a human invention, is it not extraordinary, that every one of them should have made this important discovery? Indeed, if we examine the common philosophical theory of the invention of articulate speech, we shall find it encumbered with so many and great difficulties, that we will be pleased to find some other method of accounting for the possession of this wonderful faculty.

Previously to the use of language, the mind of man must, from its very constitution, have been in such a state of ignorance and incapacity, that he was no more able to invent a language, than to build a ship of war. How could savage man, supposing him to have possessed a degree of intellect which could not have belonged to him, have known that he possessed the capacity of forming that variety of articulate sounds, necessary to a language the most limited? Moreover,

language could only be formed by common consent to employ certain sounds as the signs of certain ideas or things ; but before language existed, how could such an agreement be made ? And this formation of language, by men in the lowest state of improvement, or rather destitute of all improvement, appears more incredible, when we analyze the languages of the world, and find that their structure is indicative of profound wisdom. Even the languages of some of the wandering tribes of America are complicated, and in a very high degree, artificial.

Again, let it be considered, that if human language were the invention of men, it would have been long in a very imperfect state ; and we might expect to be able to mark the steps of improvement, from the first rude and awkward attempts, up to that perfection which language has attained ; and according to this theory, the more ancient languages would be found less artificial and less complete in their grammatical structure, than the more modern. But the facts are not so. The oldest languages known are as complete in their structure, and as artificial in their grammatical inflexions, and even more so, than those languages which have been more recently formed.

Besides, how can we reconcile it with the beneficence of the Creator, who has enriched human nature with so many other gifts, that he should place man in this world, without giving him, from the beginning, the use of speech, so necessary to his comfort as a social being ?

Now all these difficulties are removed at once, if we resort for information, to the simple narrative of Moses. He informs us, that man, as soon as created, was endowed with speech ; for he was capable of understanding the words in which his Maker communicated to him his will. His possession of articulate speech is most apparent in his giving names to all the animals, which were brought in review before him, for that purpose. When the woman was brought

to him, he spoke distinctly, and said, "This now is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh." The woman also was from her first creation, endowed with the faculty of speech. And the whole history of the world, until this time, accords with the account given in the Bible. All nations and people wherever found, have the use of speech, and yet articulate language is not natural to man. Those persons, however intelligent, who are born deaf, remain dumb. If a thousand children were brought up together, without hearing an articulate sound, I believe they would remain dumb all their lives. And if men were adult when they are supposed to have invented language, it is probable, that the organs of speech, for want of use, would have become so rigid, that they would have been incapable of articulate sounds, in any variety, even if they had had the opportunity of learning them from others.

From a full consideration of this subject, we are under a necessity of adopting some such hypothesis as that which is given to us in the Bible.

4. Another remarkable phenomenon in the history of man, is the *diversity* of human language. Between some of the existing languages there is so great an affinity, that we can safely determine, that they are radically the same : but between others, the difference is so great, not only in the sound of the words, but in the idioms and grammatical structure, that we know not how, on any hypothesis, they can be referred to the same origin. That the language of nations widely separated from each other, although originally the same, will by degrees be changed, not only in the pronunciation of the words, but by the loss of some and addition of others, is a fact easily understood, and of which we have many examples in history. But in such changes, the radical structure of the language is not altered : a similarity very striking can still be observed in all the dialects. In regard to all the existing languages of the world, however, no such analogy

exists. Not only are the radical words different, but the whole structure of one language is founded on principles totally different from those observed in others. Some etymologists, indeed, by the help of a fertile imagination, have discovered, or pretended to discover, many words in all known languages, which are from the same origin : but conceding the fact of the identity of those words, it is easy to account for it, without supposing that all existing languages in the world have been derived from one original. In the various commingling of the nations, by conquest and emigration, it could not be otherwise, but that words of one language would be transferred often to another. Now, supposing the fact to be as just stated, that all the known languages of the world can never be traced to one original tongue, philosophy has no method of accounting for this diversity. It must remain an unexplained phenomenon, upon principles of mere reason.

But let us now turn to the Bible, and we shall find a full and satisfactory explanation of this whole matter. There, we read, "That the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, &c." (to the 9th v. of the xi. chap. Gen.) Critics, it is true, have differed in their interpretation of this transaction ; and some men, eminent for their learning, have entertained the opinion, that the confusion produced at Babel, was not, properly, of language, but of counsel ; and that the diversity of language has gradually arisen from the dispersion of the nations. Others, again, admit, that God did confound the language or speech, so far, as that a change of dialect or pronunciation occurred, while the language of the different families continued radically the same. But, if by miracle, the language of the builders was confounded, which is the obvious meaning of the passage, it is as easy to believe, that God originated at this time, several languages entirely new,

as that he multiplied the dialects of the original tongue : and although our knowledge is far from being complete on this subject, it may be asserted, that so far as facts have been ascertained, the plain and obvious signification of the passage, is supported by the radical and total diversity existing between some of the languages of the earth.

Here, again, the Bible becomes a key to explain an important phenomenon in the history of man.

5. The greatest of all difficulties to natural reason, is the existence and extensive prevalence of natural and moral evil, in our world. Why is the race of man subjected to so many grievous calamities ? And why are all men, the good as well as the bad, doomed to inevitable death ? If from any necessity of nature man must die, why is his death so painful, and often lingering ? In this respect, all other animals have greatly the advantage of him. But a greater difficulty than this, is, the general and prevailing wickedness of men, in all ages, as is attested by all history, sacred and profane, and by all laws and governments, the sole object of which is, to set up barriers against the injustice and violence of wicked men.

Did God create man in this state of moral corruption ? or did he make them so frail, that in the circumstances in which they are placed, all become sinners, and the greater number fall into egregious acts of iniquity ? These facts, on the principles of natural religion, have no solution ; and they have been the means of driving many speculative men from theism to atheism.

But in the Bible, we have a key to this mystery, also ; not that every thing relating to the origin of evil is fully explained, for this would require a knowledge of the whole plan of the universe, which is too vast for our comprehension : but we have here explained as much as it is needful for us to know on this subject. From this ancient and sacred record we learn, that God made man upright, and

stamped upon him his own image ; and giving him an equitable law, placed him in a state of probation. Life and death were set before him ; and he had every reasonable motive to induce him to continue in obedience : but he sinned, and thus lost his innocence, corrupted his whole race, and incurred for himself and them the penalty of death. It was distinctly threatened, in the day thou eatest of the forbidden fruit, thou shalt die. And after the transgression, the sentence was repeated in this form, " Until thou return to the ground, for out of it wast thou taken ; for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."

The deist may invent many objections and cavils against this account of the origin of sin and death ; but every candid rationalist must acknowledge, that it is the only explanation of natural and moral evil, which has the least plausibility. And the more we contemplate the principles, on which God now governs the world, the more shall we become reconciled to the history of the fall of the first man, and in him, the ruin of all his race ; and if we are sincere lovers of truth, after exploring every other hypothesis, we will finally adopt the theory of Paul the apostle, " That by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin ; and so death hath passed upon all men, because all have sinned." " In Adam all die." " The wages of sin is death." If the first man had never sinned, death would have been unknown in the world.

6. It is an universal fact, that females of the human race bring forth their offspring with excruciating pain. Now, these distressing pangs of parturition, are not experienced by other species of animals ; or, in so small a degree, that this remarkable peculiarity in the human species needs to be accounted for, by some special reason. Mere men of reason have failed in assigning any satisfactory cause for this event. It is felt to be a heavy calamity on our race, which is always attended with danger, and often takes away

the life of the sufferer. To prevent this evil, no remedy, of any efficacy, has ever been discovered. It continues unaltered and unmitigated from generation to generation, and is submitted to, as one of the inevitable calamities of human existence. And, commonly, for evils so uniform and universal, men do not trouble themselves to inquire the reasons. But in this as in other similar cases, the Bible affords the requisite, and, indeed, the *only* information. In this extraordinary book, so much neglected by Philosophers and despised by infidels, we read, that this was a special curse inflicted on the female sex, in consequence of the transgression of the first woman. "And to the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

And it is worthy of remark, that the latter part of this minatory prediction has been universally verified by the fact; for in all countries, and in all ages, except so far as Christianity has relieved them from the curse, the female sex have been ruled over by the males in a most tyrannical manner. They have, in all heathen and Mohammedan countries, been mere slaves, held in a state of abject subjection: which degraded condition is not improved by their being made subservient to the gratification of the stronger sex; since those who are selected to administer to the pleasures of their Lords, are in that state which of all others is the most degrading to rational beings.

7. The antipathy felt by most men to the serpent, which leads them to take pleasure in bruising its head, is a fact which ought not to be passed over without some notice, as the origin of such a feeling can be traced directly to the transaction recorded in the Bible, in which the serpent was made to bear so remarkable a part. It will not be in place to refer, here, to the degradation of the serpent from the high station which he held in the animal creation,

to go upon his belly, and necessarily to swallow the dust, as this would be to assume a fact, which all deists, and many Christians, would not receive. And although the curse denounced against the serpent, had doubtless a mystical and much more important meaning; yet that is no reason why it may not also have had a literal accomplishment. The whole passage is worthy of profound consideration. "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel."

8. Another phenomenon in the natural history of the earth, for the explanation of which we must look to the Bible, is the abundant and spontaneous production of thorns, briars, thistles, and other useless and noxious weeds and shrubs, while those grains and fruits needful for the sustenance of man, are obtained only by much care and toil. For while the ground teems with the former, without any aid, and, indeed, in opposition to all the efforts of man to subdue and extirpate them, the latter can be acquired, commonly, in no other way than by "the sweat of the face," from day to day. Why is this? The naturalist will answer, it is one of nature's laws. But I ask, why was such a law established? Would it not have been as easy for the Author of nature to make a law that the earth should spontaneously and copiously produce those things which are necessary for the subsistence of man? To this question, reason makes no reply. She cannot tell, why such an order of things should exist. Sometimes, indeed, a feeble answer is attempted, by saying, that it is beneficial to man to gain his bread by the sweat of his brow; but this comes with a bad grace from the mouth of an unbeliever, since the only reason why it is useful for him to be under the necessity of constant and severe labor, is that it re-

strains his tendency to iniquity. With this explanation, I am willing to admit the validity of the reason ; but still it is an awful curse upon man—a being naturally capable of high mental improvement, and of sublime pleasure in the contemplation of his Maker and of his works—to be doomed to wear out his life, in digging the ground for the subsistence of his body.

Let us then hear what the Bible says on this subject ; “ And unto Adam he said, because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying thou shalt not eat of it : cursed is the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life : thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground.”

If the Bible is not a record of truth, these numerous striking coincidences between its declarations and the phenomena with which we are conversant every day, must be considered the most extraordinary thing in the world. But the Bible is true, and its truth is demonstrated by the fact, that it exactly corresponds with all other known truth. Every family, every field, every laborer, and every thistle and thorn, bears testimony to the authenticity of the Mosaic history.

9. If time would permit, I might show that the almost universal prevalence of bloody sacrifices, with their accompaniments of flour, and salt, and frankincense, and libations of wine ; together with the apparatus of priests and pontifical robes, of altars, and temples, and *adyta* inaccessible to profane inspection, were all derived from the divine institution of sacrifices in the family of Adam, and from the sacred institutions by Moses, in the wilderness. The attempts of some learned men to account for this widely-spread practice, from mere principles of reason ; or rather from the grossness of

the ideas of ancient worshippers, are altogether unsatisfactory. Besides, the analogy between the ancient heathen rites of sacrifice, and those recorded in the Bible, is so striking, and extends to so many points, that a full comparison by the induction of particulars, would amount to something like demonstration that they must have had a common origin.

But my prescribed limits will not allow me to pursue this subject. I can only recommend it to the attention of the inquisitive reader; who will be at no loss for helps to aid him in his investigation of the facts relating to the case.

10. In a dissertation of this kind, it would be unpardonable to pass without notice, those phenomena of our world, manifest in every country, by which it is indicated, that this whole globe, to the tops of the highest mountains, was at some former period submerged under the waters of the ocean. Though the general fact is undisputed, various theories have been invented to account for those appearances; but none of them are sufficient to explain all the phenomena, except the simple unadorned narrative of Moses. No part of sacred history has, perhaps, met with more learned and virulent attacks from the pens of infidels; and no other part of the Bible finds more corroborative proof from the natural world. Every mountain and valley, and almost every cave, deep pit, and mine, can be produced as an impartial witness of the truth of the flood of Noah. Such a deluge must have existed since the earth was inhabited; for innumerable bones of animals, deeply buried in the earth and accumulated in caves, remain to attest the fact: and these phenomena cannot be accounted for by the encroachment of the ocean in one part, and its gradual subsidence in another—a gratuitous hypothesis—for in many places the bones and exuvæ of marine and terrestrial animals are so mingled together, that this theory cannot explain the facts. And skeletons of animals not yet deprived

of their hides and hair, found in high nothern latitudes, where such animals cannot subsist, prove, that the waters of a deluge have, at some time swept over our globe. Moreover, the external appearance of the hills and vallies, and the interior appearance of their strata and mineral veins, clearly prove, that a deluge has passed over them with tremendous violence. A single fact here will be sufficient. It has been observed by experienced geologists, that in mountains now separated by deep ravines or vallies, there is an exact correspondence in the strata and mineral veins; from which it is evident, that a disruption has taken place; and that mountains which are now broken, were once continuous; and they inform us, that in some places, the course which the mighty current pursued, can be traced.

But in the absence of these witnesses of a deluge from the natural world, the histories and traditions which have come down to us, through a hundred distinct channels, are sufficient, to establish the fact, with all reasonable men. It is only in the Bible, however, that we have an authentic and satisfactory history of this awful catastrophe, and of the moral causes which brought it about. Here we learn the mortifying fact, that fallen man became so desperately wicked, that God, speaking after the manner of men, declared, that, "it repented him that he had made man on the earth." "And the Lord said, I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth."—"And God looked upon the earth, and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth."—"All the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." "And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights."—"And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven, were covered: fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered."—"And the waters prevailed upon the earth. a hundred and fifty days."

Thus we see, in another remarkable instance, how much we are indebted to the Bible for the explanation of the most common appearances in the natural world: yet there are among us many men, learned in other sciences, who have not paid so much attention to the Bible, as to know what it contains.

11. In connexion with the mention of the flood, I feel disposed to take some notice of that splendid phenomenon, so closely connected with this great event, in the sacred history. I mean the rainbow. In this celestial arch, which is enriched with all the vivid colors of light, and which commonly makes its appearance immediately after a storm, there is something so beautiful and attractive, that all persons, from childhood to old age, experience pleasure in gazing upon it. The natural causes of this singular phenomenon, have been successfully explored. But the question still recurs, had the great Creator no particular end in view, in encircling the heavens with this splendid arch? Is it merely a phenomenon without further use than to excite a momentary pleasure in the minds of beholders? The proper answers to these questions cannot be learned from the book of nature, however carefully it may be studied. We must again resort to the Bible for a key to this remarkable phenomenon of the natural world. By this we are taught, that the bow in the clouds is the sign of a covenant, or solemn promise made to Noah and to his posterity, immediately after the deluge, in token of God's acceptance of the sacrifice which by faith the patriarch offered, when he forsook the ark. The object of this promise was, to assure the patriarch and all his descendants, that the world should never again be destroyed by the waters of a deluge. Such an assurance was greatly needed, to allay the fears and compose the minds of those who had been the witnesses of a catastrophe, so tremendous. When Noah and his family entered the ark, they left behind them a world peopled

with human beings, and innumerable animals ; when they came forth from the ark, they beheld a world in ruins, without a living creature on its surface, except the few which had been preserved with them. The patriarch, who had lived six hundred years in the old world, could now turn his eyes to the site of splendid and populous cities, which, a year before, were all alive with the hum of business and the riotous dissipations of the rich and voluptuous ; but O what a change ! Silence and desolation now reigned everywhere. Upon every appearance of a threatening cloud, and especially, when the heavens poured down abundance of rain, the human family, now reduced to a few persons, must have been filled with distressing anxiety and trepidation, lest the waters of the deluge should return again, had not God given them some solemn assurance that a similar disaster should never recur.

The rainbow, then, is the token or sign of a covenant, in which we are included and interested, as much as Noah and his sons. And it is to us, not merely the sign of a promise given, but of a covenant faithfully observed for more than four thousand years. Viewing this pleasing spectacle through this medium, how much more interesting does it become ? How well is it calculated to confirm our faith in all the promises of a covenant-keeping God, and to fill our minds with the sincerest emotions of love and gratitude ? The narrative of this institution is in the following words : “And God said, this is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you, and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations. I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, and I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you, and every living creature of all flesh : and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh, And the

bow shall be in the cloud ; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant, between God and every living creature, of all flesh, that is upon the earth."

But the natural philosopher will tell us, that the rainbow is produced by natural causes, and must have existed before the deluge, as well as, after it ; since the rays of light falling on drops of descending rain, would then have been separated into their primitive colours, as well as now ; so that this brilliant phenomenon could not have had its origin after the flood. Be it so ; yet God might appoint the bow to be a token of a covenant, entered into at this time. When a particular day of the week or month was consecrated to some special purpose of religion, no alteration took place in the day itself. When water is used as a sacramental sign in baptism, or bread and wine in the eucharist, the elements of water, bread, and wine, are the same after they are made the signs of a covenant as before. And so, the rainbow might have existed whenever the circumstances necessary to its appearance occurred, and yet have been selected afterwards as the token of God's solemn promise to all living creatures, that the earth should no more be overwhelmed with the waters of a deluge.

But I confess that I cannot persuade myself, that this view of the subject, however probable in itself, is consistent with the narrative of Moses without putting some force on his words. He introduces God, as saying, *I will set my bow in the clouds* ; the obvious import of which is, that a sign would henceforth be exhibited in the clouds, which had never been seen there before : a thousand persons of plain good sense would, every one, give this meaning to the words, as is proved by experience. And as to the philosophical difficulty, it need not trouble us. The laws of nature, probably, underwent some change during the flood. Certainly a temporary alteration must have occurred in the atmosphere, when the heavens poured down an incessant torrent for forty days

and forty nights; and some permanent effect was also produced, for the air was less favorable to longevity after the flood, than before. How any change which now took place, could be the cause of the bow in the clouds, it is not necessary, nor perhaps possible, to know. This, however, we do know, that in the beginning, when the earth was created, it was not watered by rain, but by mist. "For the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth"—"But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." And for ought that appears, the earth was thus watered until the time of the universal deluge; in which case, there could have been no place for the rainbow. But if this be not admitted; yet when it rained, the whole horizon might have been uniformly overspread with clouds, as is now most commonly the case: and we know that a rainbow can never appear to any man, unless the sun is shining in one part of the heavens, while it is raining in the opposite part; a circumstance which now does not happen oftener than once in a hundred times, when it rains, and which might never have occurred before the flood.

It is adopted as a principle, without sufficient reasons, that the laws of nature have continued uniformly the same, since the creation. Without doubt, important changes occurred when man fell from his innocence, and was expelled from Paradise; and we are under the necessity of supposing some change at the time of the flood, in consequence of which, human life has, ever since, been so greatly abridged.

12. The early and common division of time into weeks, deserves also a short notice, in an essay of this kind. Other periods of time, such as months, and years, are measured and regulated by the heavenly bodies; but, the division into weeks, seems to be entirely arbitrary, seeing there is nothing to indicate it, or correspond with it, in the revolution of the heavens.

Where this hebdomadal period originated, profane history

cannot inform us. It can, however, be traced as far back as to the Chaldeans. Some have supposed, that, as each day of the week comes down to us with the name of the sun, moon, or one of the planets, and as these are seven in number, that the septenary division of time originated from the consecration of one day to each of these heavenly bodies. But this theory is unsatisfactory. It would have been a strange and unnatural conceit to make a regular period of seven days, constantly recurring, for no other reason but because there were seven planets, including the sun and moon. It is far more probable, that the Chaldeans or Egyptians, or whoever gave the names to the days of the week, found this period of time already established, and then imagined, that each day was under the influence or government of one of these luminaries, or deities, as they probably conceived them to be.

This supposition is strengthened by the fact, that among many ancient people, the seventh day was sacred.

But these facts, involved in so much obscurity, as far as reason and profane history are concerned, become clear, as soon as we look into the Bible: for there we learn, "that in six days God made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."

I know, indeed, that many Christians have adopted the opinion, that the Sabbath was not instituted until the time of Moses; and that the mention of it in the second chapter of Genesis, is by way of *prolepsis*: but this theory is altogether inconsistent with a fair interpretation of the sacred history. The words of Moses are, "And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work, which God created and made." And in the fourth precept of the decalogue, the institution of the Sabbath is closely connected with the work of creation. But how forced is the interpretation, that at the time of

the exodus from Egypt, God blessed the seventh day, because in it he had rested from all his work. Surely, if his resting from the work of creation, was the reason of the institution, it is no how probable that he would have deferred its appointment, for more than two thousand years ; especially, when it is considered, that the celebration of the work of creation was as much incumbent on those who lived before this period, as afterwards. And that we read nothing of the sanctification of the Sabbath during the patriarchal ages, is an objection of little force, when we consider how many other things are unnoticed, in this concise history ; and especially when we find a similar omission, during a period of five or six hundred years, after the Israelites took possession of Canaan.

HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF THE DRUSES.

THE Druses, or as they call themselves the Unitarians [*Mowahhidûn*], of Mount Libanus, have, for several hundred years, been the subject of much curious speculation among European travellers and antiquaries. The attention of the Christian world was first attracted to their character and history, towards the close of the fifteenth century, when one of their hereditary chiefs took refuge in Italy from the storms of his own country. An opinion was soon broached by some fanciful theorist, and propagated throughout Europe, that the Druses were the remnant of the Christian colonies established in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades; a hypothesis countenanced, and perhaps suggested, by the coincidence of the name with that of Dreux in France, and the traditionary story of a Count de Dreux who had actually made a settlement not far from Mount Libanus. There was something romantic in this supposititious pedigree which awakened the sympathies and amused the fancy of all Christendom, an effect greatly heightened by the conduct of the Syrian refugee, who, with the singular complaisance peculiar to his nation, professed a strong attachment to the Christian faith, and a firm belief in his own European extraction. And here it may be observed, that much of the misconception and erroneous theory which have prevailed in relation to this people, has arisen from the strange trait in their character and manners just alluded to, a remarkable facility in conforming externally to the rites and opinions of those with whom they come in contact. Whether this policy has been adopted from motives essentially connected with their religious system as requiring

strict secrecy in relation to their creed and ritual, or whether it has been suggested altogether by a dread of the persecuting spirit which characterizes all orthodox Mohammedans, and especially the Turks, is a doubtful and disputed question. It is a fact, however, that they do not hesitate in practice to humour, as it were, the prejudices of their neighbours. An intelligent traveller informs us, that the mosque at Deir-el-Kamr, though sedulously garnished and well filled, whenever visited by a Turkish officer, is for the most part totally deserted, the minaret being only used to proclaim lost cattle and announce the current value of provisions.* We learn from the same authority, that the hereditary chiefs are circumcised and carefully instructed in the forms of prayer prescribed by the moslem ritual, while on the other hand, they do not scruple to drink wine and eat pork, very often go to church when one is within reach, and sometimes by way of a compliment to a Maronite monk or bishop, suffer their children to be publicly baptized. This compliance with the forms of Christianity, it must be owned, seems to be suggested less by a dread of persecution than a wish to elude investigation, and may indeed be regarded as a circumstance unparalleled in the history of other sects. In view of such an anomalous spirit of toleration and conformity, we can scarcely wonder at the discrepancy which appears in the various opinions that have been prevalent in relation to this people, both in Europe and the East. By some they have been classed as a society of Mohammedan schismatics, by others as a spurious variety of Christians, while many have regarded them as nothing else than a race of disguised idolaters. To the same cause we may perhaps ascribe the exaggerated statements which their own immediate neighbors have in past times propagated with respect to their moral character as a community, and the

* Niebuhr's Voyage. Vol. II. p. 353. Amst. 1780:

impure rites performed at their religious celebrations. There can be no doubt, it is true, that the moral principles established in their system, and the moral practice thence arising, are by no means unexceptionable. But the inquiries of enlightened travellers have clearly proved from the testimony of unbiassed Mohammedans and Christians, that the dark shade of the descriptions often given of their moral character, is attributable, in a good degree at least, to the malignity of hatred or the credulity of ignorance.* That their real sentiments and character are as little known to the other oriental sects, as to the inhabitants of Europe, may be gathered from the fact, that the native Christians of Aleppo, on observing the private and mysterious meetings of the English masonic lodge established there, immediately concluded that the Druses were no less than an order of Free Masons.† It is, therefore, not at all surprizing, that the history and character of this peculiar race, though so long the subject of inquisitive research, have been involved in such impenetrable mystery, and are even now so little understood. Mere obstinate refusal to disclose their secret would probably have failed of accomplishing the end, particularly if combined with an austere and fastidious separation from every other sect. But this singular practice of assuming any garb and professing any creed which convenience or interest recommends, without, however, giving up their own distinctive system of belief, has served as an impervious veil for the concealment of their mysteries. We shall endeavor to assign some reasons for this characteristic anomaly, after a brief review of the authenticated facts which constitute the history of the Druses so far as it is known. The authentic information on this subject, though it amounts to very little, is scattered through a number of miscel-

* See the travels of Niebuhr, Volney, and Burckhardt, in Syria and the Holy Land.

† Niebuhr. Vol. II. p. 356.

aneous books of travels, geography, and history. Nothing more will be here attempted than a connected exhibition of these facts, with some additional illustration derived from Mohammedan authorities.

It is a remarkable circumstance, though one which can scarcely be disputed or denied, that almost all the heterogeneous and conflicting heresies, which have mangled the religious system of Mohammed, since the time of its foundation, may be traced to their primary source, in political divisions and commotions. As might have been expected from the character of the system itself, a multitude of fanatical separatists and metaphysical neologists arose, even before the death of the false prophet. But the seeds of total and radical disunion were first sown in the violent dissensions which arose on the choice of the first Khalif or *successor* of Mohammed. The claims of Ali, as the first who had espoused the new religion, and as a kinsman and confidential friend of the impostor, were so obvious and imposing, that the preference given to another could not fail to create a powerful and zealous party in his favor. His death and the abdication of his son, instead of allaying this violence of feeling, served only to enlarge the breach, so that the whole series of Khalifs posterior to Ali had to encounter a perpetual opposition on the part of these malcontents, more or less formidable in proportion to their strength and the weakness of the government. When the family of Abbas obtained the supreme power, the number and influence of the followers of Ali were felt to be so great, that an attempt was made to deduce the pedigree of Al Abbas from one of Ali's sons. This genealogy, however, was so obviously strained, that the pretension was abandoned by the reigning family; but the tacit acknowledgment which had been given of the prior right of the Alides fixed forever the division of the two great parties of Shials and Sonnis, the former maintaining the divine right of Ali, and the latter the legitimacy

of the first three Khalifs. This, however, by no means continued the only matter in difference between them. A marked diversity of character was soon exhibited and constantly increased; and though each of these great sects was, in process of time, subdivided by a multitude of petty schisms, the same generic character pervaded all. Nor is the state of things, in this respect, materially different at the present time. The Shiahs, even now, have a manifest leaning towards wild speculation and fanatical enthusiasm, and the Sonnis towards the opposite extreme of blind or hypocritical formality. This fact admits of an easy historical solution. The sect of the Shiahs, though its date is for the most part referred to a later period, had its origin, no doubt, in the party heats with which Islam was inflamed on the death of the false prophet. The zeal of the partisans of Ali, originally warm, and fomented by the successive elevation of three pretenders to the regal and pontifical authority, gave a character of violent extravagance to the sect which perpetuated their sentiments and feelings, and this characteristic spirit soon infected their doctrinal opinions. As the fundamental principle upon which they built, was the priority of Ali and his offspring to all other families and individuals, their great object naturally was the exaltation of his merits and claims to pre-eminence of rank. In the prosecution of this end, they were not contented with asserting the advantage which his peculiar relations to the Prophet gave him over his competitors. They soon began to call in the aid of the marvellous and preternatural—ascribing to Ali a super-human nature, and ending at last in a direct apotheosis. This last doctrine, it is true, has never been espoused in all its length and breadth by the great body of the Shiahs, but it has always prevailed extensively among the members of that sect, and is indeed nothing more than their avowed opinion carried out to all its consequences. It is easy to imagine the effects of such a spirit, when once it

became prevalent among the Arab sectaries. No extravagance was thought too wild, no absurdity too gross to be pressed into the service of the son of Abu Taleb. By degrees Mohammed seemed to lose the supremacy to which his prophetic character entitled him, and to yield the first place in the eyes and hearts of the Shiahs to his son-in-law and Vizir. The eternity of the Koran was denied by pontifical authority in the reign of Almamun, the *Sonnah* or canonical traditions were rejected, or to speak more properly, gave way to a new traditionary code of a different complexion; the names of the first three Khalifs were recited in the mosques only to be cursed by the officiating priest, and in a word, the Shiahs and Sonnis learned to regard each other as worse than heretics, idolaters, and infidels. The policy of the Sonnis obviously was to fly to the opposite extreme—to reject all mystical interpretations and visionary theories, and by adhering strictly to the *letter* of the Koran and the *Sonnah*, to counteract the licentious extravagance of the schismatics. In this course they have persevered unto this day, counting the letters of the Koran, while the Shiahs converted them into cabalistic symbols, and illustrating the text by puerile traditionary comments, while the Shiahs enveloped it in the smoke of their mystical metaphysics.

We have already said, that the great subject of contention between these sects, was the divine right of Ali to the Khalifat—the Shiahs considering the claims of his family to pontifical authority as unalienable and exclusive, the Sonnis maintaining that the office was purely elective, and denying the existence of any hereditary right. There are two Arabic words which are used to denote the head of the Mohammedan religion—*Khalîf* and *Imâm*. The first meaning merely a *successor*, has been applied indifferently to all who have united the spiritual and temporal authority. The other is exclusively appropriated by the Shiahs to the

legitimate princes of the house of Ali. Of these they reckon twelve, the first and second being Ali and his first-born Hassan who renounced the Khalifat about the fortieth year of the Hegira. The last of these twelve Imams, whom they call all *Al Mohdi* or the great director, is, according to the prevalent opinion of the Shiahs, still alive, and living in concealment, but is to reappear at some appointed period, not yet arrived. This wild conceit has been the fruitful source of many impositions, usurpations, and destructive wars throughout the west of Asia, as nothing could be easier among a people so disposed to believe things marvellous and new, than to personate this mysterious character who is constantly expected by the Shiahs to appear and restore the honor of the house of Ali. We find accordingly in oriental history innumerable instances of bold attempts to represent Almohdi for the purpose of corrupting the allegiance of the Faithful to their Khalifs and transferring their affections to some rival dynasty. The majority of these attempts were unsuccessful, though they assisted to shake the throne of Bagdad during the decline of the house of Abbas. In some instances, however, the results have been more serious, as in the case of the Fatimites who reigned in Egypt for above two hundred years, and whose history is the more deserving of attention, as it leads directly to that of the Druses.

About the close of the tenth century, Abu Mohammed Obeidallah assumed the title of Almohdi, and created a strong party in the African provinces against the reigning Khalif, Al Moktader Billah. The rank which he claimed at first, was that of Sultan or Khalif of Khairwan; but in a few years he assumed the style of Emîr Al Mumenin or Commander of the Faithful, and declared himself a lineal descendant of Ali, by his wife Fatimah, the daughter of Mohammed. From this circumstance, was derived the name of Fatimites, ever afterwards applied to him and his successors. After a protracted period of sanguinary conflict, he succeed-

ed in laying the foundations of an independent monarchy, which the third of his successors, Al Moezz, established finally in Egypt, A. H. 362, (A. D. 972,) where it remained unshaken amidst the repeated and violent attacks of the Bagdad Khalifs, until ultimately and completely overthrown by Saladin. Whether Obeidallah the founder of this dynasty, was really of the house of Ali, is one of the most doubtful and disputed points in oriental history, The Mohammedan historians have given such contradictory accounts of his parentage and extraction, that it seems impossible to separate the truth from the mass of exaggeration with which political and religious prejudice has adulterated and disguised it. But be that as it may, it is agreed on all hands, that from the time of his first asserting these pretensions, he fully espoused and uniformly promoted the temporal and spiritual interests of the followers of Ali. To this, mere policy would have impelled him as a means of widening the breach between him and the reigning family, and we find accordingly, that from the first foundation of the Fatimite Khalifat in Egypt, the Shiah doctrines were zealously professed, and established by authority, in the capital of Egypt. We have already seen how propitious the principles and spirit of that sect have always been to fanatical extravagance, and wild theological speculation. And we now find in perusing the contemporary annals of the Eastern and Western Khalifats, that while heretic after heretic was strangled in the dungeons, or burnt in the streets, of Bagdad, for maintaining the incarnation of the Deity in Ali, or preaching the mystical pantheism of the Sufis—the propagators of the self-same doctrines were in Cairo revered as prophets, and rewarded as public benefactors. From the time that Al Moezz made his entrance into Egypt, the extravagance of the Shiahs was allowed full scope. So many heterogeneous absurdities had been propagated and exploded, and the popular credulity burdened with so many

conflicting novelties of faith and practice, that the minds of the vulgar began to be unsettled and the people seemed disposed to throw off the trammels of religion altogether, when at length under the auspices of Hakem Biamrillah the chaos was reduced in some degree to order and wrought into the semblance of a system.

The notorious prince just mentioned, was the fifth Fatimite sovereign after Obeidallah, and the third who reigned in Egypt. He ascended the throne A. H. 386,* at a very early age, and after some years of fickle and inactive government, began to exhibit symptoms of the wildest madness, combined with the most extravagant impiety. His official acts at this period of his reign, as recorded by Makrizi, are pitiable specimens of mingled folly, insanity, and wickedness. In one of his edicts he commands all the dogs of Cairo to be massacred; in another he forbids the women of the city to leave their homes on any pretext or at any time. On one day he required that the names of the first three Khalifs should be cursed at public worship, and on the next revoked the order. In one decree he would regulate with minuteness and precision the distinctive dress to be worn by Jews and Christians, and before the change could well be made, would issue another altering the fashion and requiring strict obedience upon pain of death. As his malady increased, he grew restless, and passed whole nights in pompous marches through the streets of Cairo, requiring the bazars to be kept open and the shops to be illuminated. With an intellect thus crazed, and under the influence of the wild speculations of the wildest Shiah, it is not surprising that the unhappy monarch became a tool in the hands of ambitious and fanatical impostors, who availed themselves of his insanity, to forward their own schemes of proselytism or aggrandizement. Of these the most conspicuous were Mo-

* A. D. 996.

hammed Ibn Ismail El Durzi, and Hamza Ibn Ali. The former, who also bore the name of Darar, is supposed to have been an emigrant from Persia, whence he imported into Egypt the mystical jargon of the Sufis, who, then as now, prevailed extensively in the former country. He is considered the founder of Ismailis, a sect still existing in the west of Asia, and is said by modern writers to have given name to the Druses of Syria themselves. Hamza was the coadjutor and successor of El Durzi, and is regarded by the Druses as the prophet or apostle of their faith. Under the influence of these two men, the impiety and madness of the Khalif reached its acme. In the year of the Hegira 408, he went so far as to deify himself, declaring that he was God incarnate, and forbidding the use of the customary phrase *God be propitious to him*, on account of its obvious impropriety when applied to God himself. In the same spirit, he changed his surname *Biamrillah*, (*by the appointment or command of God*,) into *Bidhâlihi*, (*by his own essential nature*,) and in short laid claim without reserve, limitation, or exception, to the honors of the Most High. By degrees, the confused and incoherent doctrines connected with and flowing from this absurd apotheosis, were reduced by Hamza into something like a systematic form and clothed in the mysterious garb of an unintelligible jargon. The doctrine of the metempsychosis, which was already common to many of the Shiahs, was set forth in prominent relief, the true believer being taught to trace the transmigrations of certain high intelligences immediately subordinate to Hakem or the Deity, though almost all the prophets recorded in the scriptures, to the person of Hamza and some five or six of his devoted satellites. The ceremonies of the new religion were performed with great solemnity, the Faithful being frequently assembled to receive instruction in the doctrines of their creed and moral exhortations from the Da'is or public teachers. And it may be remarked as a

singular feature in the system, that its privileges were extended to both sexes, particular provision being made for the instruction of the women, and some sacred writings still preserved being specially addressed to them. But besides these assemblies, which had necessarily something of a public character, there were secret meetings held, of a more mysterious nature, to which none could gain access but by passing through certain initiatory rites. The initiated too were divided into various ranks, each successive gradation enjoying its own privileges and maintaining its own order, holding for that purpose separate meetings, and performing diverse acts. At these nocturnal meetings, the tradition of the East affirms, that the decencies of life were scandalously outraged, a promiscuous and incestuous communion of the sexes being not only allowed, but enjoined as a religious duty. How far these imputations may be explained away as the results of malignant prejudice, or of vulgar credulity excited by the mystery which shrouded these assemblies, it is by no means easy to determine. Suffice it to say, that even allowing all that ought to be allowed in such a case, the acknowledged character of the men who prompted and regulated these proceedings, is by no means such as to justify the expectation of unspotted purity in any of their acts, particularly those performed in secret, and under the influence of blind fanaticism. In the meantime, the mad monarch continued to enjoy his arrogated honors, and to preside over the rites of his false religion with insane complacency. He was not, however, long permitted to continue the exhibition of this impious farce. In spite of his magnificent pretensions to perfection and omnipotence, a successful attempt was made to cut short his wild career, and the deluded wretch was slain with his vicegerent and prophet, by the emissaries of a party created by the influence and arts of his own sister. This catastrophe may be added to the many proofs which history affords of the utter impossi-

bility of giving permanence and general diffusion among common people, to a system of over-strained and ultra mysticism. All the patronage of Hakem, all the intrigues of El Durzi, all the jargon of Hamza, were unable to force the absurd extravagance of the new doctrines upon the lower classes. They preferred the cold emptiness of orthodox Mohammedanism, with all its restrictions and formalities, or at least the more moderate varieties of the Shiah heresy; and accordingly, they not only rose in opposition to the Khalif when the signal of revolt was given by the Benu-Korra, but resisted all attempts made after the death of Hakem to resuscitate the suppressed ceremonies and reorganize the abandoned lodges. Nor has any success attended such attempts at any subsequent period. The great mass of the Mohammedans continue to adhere to the religion of the Koran; and though a tincture of the spirit which characterized the worshippers of Hakem has been imparted to some unimportant sects, it has never since been popular or diffusive. The only community that is known to have preserved the system of Hamza and El Durzi, in its principles and details are the Druses of Mount Libanus, and even among them it is a secret at this day.

The circumstances which attended Hakem's death are enveloped in extraordinary mystery, rendered more remarkable by its contrast with the minuteness of detail, which for the most part characterizes the Arabic historians. An attempt was made by the high priests of the new religion to inspire a belief among the people, that he had only disappeared, like Al Mohdi, his progenitor, and like him would reappear at some convenient season. It was the less difficult to fabricate this tale, from the fact, that the Khalif was assassinated, in a private place, to which he retired at stated periods, to hold secret converse with the prophets and apostles. But subsequent events completely falsified this pious fraud, except in the eyes of the

most credulous among his blinded worshippers. The political changes which succeeded, sufficiently evinced that the unhappy monarch had undergone the process which all oriental sovereigns have reason to expect, and which most of them actually experience. Among these changes one of the most important was the abolition of the public, and suppression of the secret, rites connected with the worship of the murdered Khalif. The dispersion of the priests and devotees was a necessary consequence, and as Eastern revolutionists do nothing by halves, Hamza and his adherents who continued faithful, soon found themselves compelled to betake themselves to flight as the only means of safety, so that few months had elapsed before Egypt was completely cleared of every vestige of the obnoxious heresy.

At this point, a considerable chasm occurs in the history of the fanatics, which is only supplied—and that very imperfectly—by detached and confused traditionary anecdotes. The circumstances of their overthrow in Egypt might indeed lead us naturally to expect the absence of any continuous authentic record of their subsequent migrations. Persecuted, as they no doubt were, by the orthodox or less heretical believers, wherever they were found; hated at home, and suspected elsewhere, they were compelled to make their movements cautiously and in secret. The same circumstances would, of course, induce them to prefer the society of one another to that of the indifferent or persecuting multitude; a feeling strengthened probably in most of them, by the same spirit of fanatical enthusiasm which made them refuse to abandon their new faith. These facts, considered in connexion with the fragments of traditionary information already mentioned, give no small degree of probability to the opinion which identifies the Druses with the Egyptian refugees. Another circumstance, which adds to this probability, is the derivation of the name by which the sect is known, from the surname of Mohammed Ibn Is-

maei. An etymology suggested and maintained by a native of Syria* no doubt on good authority. Whether the fugitives immediately organized a separate society, or whether they amalgamated with another race, at that time occupants of Mount Libanus, we have no historical means of ascertaining. There is so much confusion and obscurity about the statements of the Mohammedan historians in relation to this period, that they furnish no satisfactory results. The first mention which we find of the Druses, as an organized community, is in the *Itinerarium* of Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled to the East in the 12th century, while the Europeans had possession of the Holy Land, a circumstance which clearly disproves the assertion, that they were a Christian colony. It may be thought extraordinary, that a society so singular in its character and habits should have attracted so little attention during such a lapse of time, and still more, that a sect of proscribed and persecuted heretics should have been suffered to reside in the midst of Mussulmans unmolested, and for several centuries almost unknown. This phenomenon, however, is sufficiently explained by a reference to the history of the Ottoman Empire, and the date of the first Turkish conquests. Though Mohammedans in their religious faith and practice, the Turks are of an origin entirely diverse from that of the other Moslem nations. It is generally agreed, that the first Turks were a horde of migratory Tartars, who penetrated into Asia-Minor through the Persian territory, and it is by no means an improbable conjecture, that they picked up the religion of the Koran in the progress of their march. They had consequently, at first, none of the same deep-rooted prejudices, one way or the other, which at that time characterized the Arabs and their colonies, and if at the present day they are the strictest and most bigotted of all the Sonnis, it has arisen

* M. Mitchel, French dragoman at Saïde.

in a great degree, from a spirit of political animosity towards the Persians, who are Shiah. The invasion of Syria and the Holy Land, therefore, by the Ottomans, wrought a change in the character of the whole population. The strangers, feeling none of the instinctive prejudices cherished by their predecessors, and disregarding probably, the vague traditions respecting the origin and character of the Druses, suffered them to remain in quiet possession of their territories, and in fact, seem to have wholly overlooked them, till the Druses emboldened by this tolerant contempt, committed such depredations on the adjacent regions as effectually roused the attention of their masters. A series of petty wars between the Turkish soldiery and the mountaineers terminated at length in the subjection of the latter, near the end of the fifteenth century. They were not, however, exterminated or even expelled. The only important change which was made in their condition, was the substitution of a monarchical form of local government, for the somewhat republican system which prevailed before—the numerous Sheikhs or petty chieftains of the Druses, being united under a single Emir. They soon, however, renewed their depredations with different degrees of impunity and success, and their history from that period till 1770, so far as it is known, consists of little else than a succession of revolts and conflicts with the Turks. It was at one of these stormy periods, that the prince, before alluded to, who had fought with great success against the provincial Turkish troops, and raised the power of his nation to its highest pitch, fled to Italy to escape the more formidable preparations which the Sultan was making to destroy him. In the year last mentioned, the famous rebel Ali Bey having been expelled from Egypt, renewed his disorganizing measures in Syria, where he had taken refuge, and as the war between the Porte and Russia required nearly all the Turkish troops upon the Northern frontier, the Pasha of Tripoli was forced

to have recourse to the Druses for assistance. They accepted his proposals, but in order to render their aid more efficacious, he compelled the reigning Emir, Al Mansur, to resign, and appointed in his room the Emir Yusuf, a nephew of Al Mansur, who had made himself conspicuous as a military chieftain, in several of the petty wars, so common in the east. Under his command, they marched upon Ali Bey, who, meeting them with a few small pieces of artillery obtained from Russian ships, routed them entirely, and wasted a considerable portion of the Emir's territory. The loss sustained in property and men, was serious to the Druses, and though we know few authenticated facts, in relation to their subsequent condition, there is reason to believe that they have never since been possessed of any great degree of power. It would even appear, that the Turks have in latter times, directly interfered in the local government of Mount Libanus, by assuming the right of nominating the Emir or chief Lord. It is stated by Mr. Jowett, in his *Christian Researches*, that the present Emir is neither a Moslem nor a Druse, but a Christian, who only complies with the outward form of the Mohammedan religion, to secure himself from injury. It is probable, however, that this is a misconception arising from the illusive practice of external conformity already mentioned as a characteristic of the nation in all ages. We have now given as full a view of the most probable opinions respecting the rise and progress of this people, as our means of information would permit. It remains to collect some of the scattered, and by no means perfectly consistent, statements which have been given in regard to their religion. The reader will recollect, that the educated Druses have always refused to impart information on this subject, and that what is known has been discovered by fraud or accident, or guessed out from the mystical jargon of their sacred books.

The Druses call their own religion *Tawhîd*, a word de-

noting *unity*, or rather a relief in the doctrine of Unity. This term is of common use among the Mussulmans, who apply it to their own faith as contra-distinguished from Christianity on the one hand, and polytheism on the other.

It is by no means certain, whether this is the sense in which the Druses employ it as descriptive of their system. It may, indeed, have allusion to their notions respecting the metempsychosis and the kindred doctrine of successive incarnations, and be intended to imply the Deity, though so frequently revealed in different forms, was, notwithstanding, *one*. But from some expressions which occur in their sacred writings, it seems more probable, that this appellative is founded on another peculiar dogma of their creed—to wit, that all the religious systems which have ever existed, however heterogeneous or contradictory, are sealed, consummated, and centred, in the religion of the Druses. Their prophet Hamza, and the other authors of their sacred books, delight in representing the new system as a grand universal medium between all extremes, and at the same time as the topstone of some mighty edifice, which had been building from the beginning of the world. This doctrine runs through all their writings, and serves to explain more than one of their peculiarities. It is on this ground, that they are so completely tolerant, never offering any opposition, nor expressing a dislike to the doctrines or services of any other sect. It is on this ground too, that they wholly abstain from all attempts to convert or proselyte their neighbors, nay, peremptorily refuse to receive any other than a native Druse into their communion. These two peculiarities, which are wholly unparalleled in religious history, can only be occasioned by a belief, that their system is the sum and substance of all other creeds, and an expectation that it will at some future day be universal. If this supposition is correct, the *Tawhid* properly denotes the unity of all religions, rather than the unity of God,

though the latter may, indeed, be included in the former. The truth is, that the doctrine just described is the only one which seems to be consistently and uniformly taught from the very beginning, in their sacred books. In other respects the system appears to have been formed gradually and at random. The earliest of Hamza's writings which have seen the light, are very moderate in their tone and spirit, and seem removed to no great distance from strict orthodoxy. The Koran is quoted or alluded to, in almost every sentence—a blessing is pronounced as usual, upon Mohammed, as the seal of all the prophets—and Hakem himself is represented as merely the vicegerent of the Deity. By degrees, however, this character is changed—Mohammed is forgotten, and Hakem is advanced till his Deity is explicitly asserted. For this change the books themselves account, by declaring that the deity did not enter into Hakem, until the year 400 of the Hegira, a chronological fiction, contrived, no doubt, to correspond with the change of plan or feeling in his fanatical advisers. After the deification of the Khalif, the sacred books are all confusion. Long, desultory, moral lectures, are intermingled with mystical personifications, transmigrations, and allegories, exhibiting very few, if any, indications of a uniform consistent system. To one of the most intelligent, and accurate observers among modern travellers*, we are indebted for the substance of a book purporting to contain a true account of the religion of the Druses, and to be itself the composition of a Druse. Though the circumstances in which the MS. was first brought to light, argue little for its perfect authenticity,† yet as it fur-

* Carsten Niebuhr.

† “On me disoit qu' un *Jesuite* qui possédoit parfaitement l'Arabe, qui avoit logé une nuit chez un Druze, qui étoit fort hospitalier, avoit trouvé ce livre dans un coin de sa chambre à coucher et qu' il l'avoit d'abord copié la même nuit.” Niebuhr's *Voyage*, Tom. II. p. 354.

nishes a more connected view of the doctrines of the sect, than is easily found elsewhere, and is probably of modern origin, we shall content ourselves with borrowing its statements, and adding a few others from later authorities.

With respect to the Deity, they hold, according to the MS. just mentioned, that he has been ten times incarnate, first under the name and form of Ali—and last under the name and form of Hakem. Among the ten persons who are thus supposed to have been God incarnate, are several of the Fatimite Khalifs, who preceded Hakem on the throne of Egypt. The date of the Deity's first entrance into Hakem, we have already stated to be about the year 400 of the Hegira, or 1009 of the Christian era. They believe, however, that this incarnation was concealed from men, until 408, the year in which Mohammed Ibn Ismail began to preach his doctrines. In the following year, which they call the year of affliction, they say that the divinity abandoned Hakem, but returned to him again in 410, and continued in him until he disappeared.

Immediately subordinate to Hakem, the system recognises five intelligences or spiritual beings, who bear a great variety of titles in the books, though they are generally known under those of, the Mind or Intelligence—the Soul or Spirit—the Word—the right Wing—and the left Wing. These, like the Deity himself, are supposed to have dwelt successively in various human forms, migrating from one body to another, like the souls of men. Of these five beings, who are called the ministers of the Tawhid, or Religion of Unity, the first above mentioned, also bears the names of the *Will*—the *Command*—the *Cause of Causes*—and many others equally appropriate and significant. He is said to have appeared eight times in the flesh; 1. in the time of Adam, under the name of *Shat*. 2. In the time of Noah, under the name of *Pythagoras*. 3. In the time of Abraham, under the name of *David*. 4. In the time of Moses, under the name

of *Jethro*. 5. In the time of Christ, under the name of *Eleazar*. 6. In the time of Mohammed, under the name of *Salman* the Persian, (who is supposed by many to have aided the impostor in the fabrication of the Koran.) 7. In the time of Said, under the name of *Saleh*. 8. Last, and above all, in the time of Hakem, under the name of *Hamza* and the official title of *Kaim-el-zeman* or Lieutenant of the age. In like manner, the other mysterious essences, above enumerated, are traced, though a series of migrations to the persons of four followers of Hamza, the most eminent of whom is *Boha-eddin*, the author of many of the pieces which compose their sacred books. It is observed by Niebuhr, that the book from which he gathered the statements, which he gives in relation to the Druses—and the same is true of their more ancient writing—makes little mention of Mohammed Ibn Ismael, as the founder of the sect, but speaks often, and in high terms, of Hamza. This circumstance may be explained upon the supposition, that Mohammed Ibn Ismael was not properly the founder of the sect, though he may have been the first who breathed its peculiar sentiments, but an easier explanation is afforded by the fact, that most of the books in question were composed by Hamza himself. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Druses pay extravagant respect to the memory of Hamza, even supposing him to have written the New Testament, and to be himself the true Messiah, in consequence of which, says Niebuhr, they regard Christianity with peculiar favor. The doctrine of a future state is distinctly taught by Hamza in his early writings, and pretty much in the language of the Koran; but as he also recognized in the same compositions, the divine legation of Mohammed, and the subordinate rank of Hakem, it is hard to draw any definite conclusions from expressions which would seem to have been used merely as words of course, or to have been abrogated by posterior revelations. Certain it is, that the Druses do anti-

cipate a second advent of the vanished Hakem, to destroy his enemies, and elevate their sect above all false religions. In that day of retribution they believe, that most favor will be shown to Christians, and least to the Mohammedans—and it is remarkable, that they look forward to the triumph of Christianity over Islam as a sure prognostic of the great and glorious catastrophe.

As to their practical or moral doctrines, so far as they are known, they may be summed up in few words. The positive requisitions of their law are: 1. A belief in the divinity of Hakem. 2. A belief in the metempsychosis. 3. A blind submission to the Akils in spiritual matters. 4. Alms and benevolence in general towards their brethren. 5. The instructions of their wives in the doctrines of their faith. They are forbidden, 1. to swear. 2. To reveal the doctrines of their faith to strangers. 3. To eat with strangers or with those of a lower caste among themselves. 4. To commit adultery. Polygamy is allowed, but seldom practised by any but the Emirs. It is also said, that they consider marriage lawful between the nearest relations. Murder seems not to be prohibited; and indeed it would seem from Niebuhr's statements to be their ordinary mode of adjusting differences, and revenging insults.

A few observations will be necessary on the internal polity of the Druses, so far as it has reference to their religious peculiarities. They are divided into the two great classes of *Akils* or Ecclesiastics, and *Jahils* or Seculars. The former word properly means *wise*, and the latter *ignorant*, but usage has applied the one exclusively to those who devote themselves to a religious life, and the latter to all others, not excepting even the hereditary chiefs of the highest dignity. In many respects, the Akkal of the Druses bear a strong resemblance to the Christian priesthood, of the Roman church. Like them, they are the sole depositaries of the mysteries of faith and spiritual authority, and like them

they form a society distinct from the body of the people. In some points, however, the resemblance fails. The Akils of the Druses regard even the highest of the Jahils as their inferiors, and consider themselves polluted by merely eating with a Jahil, though he be the chief Lord or Emir of the tribe. In fact, there seems to be as broad a line of demarcation between the Akils and the Jahils, as between the Jahils and other sects. There are three *Sheikhs-ul-akkal*, or superiors of this privileged order, whose authority they acknowledge. Of the secular chiefs, though politically the most powerful, they are independent. Their pride is, indeed, so great, that they scorn to act as secretaries to the chiefs, or as instructors to their children, offices filled exclusively by Christians, a circumstance which accounts for the number of Maronites residing on the mountain and apparently amalgamated with the Druses. But even this is not all. The Akils are not only thus independent of the Jahils. They are the sole depositories of the secret doctrines handed down by tradition, or in writing, from the days of Hakem and of Hamza. One of the duties most strictly enjoined upon the Jahils, is entire confidence in all the declarations of the Akils on religious subjects. They are all, therefore, considered as infallible, and deal forth their stores of spiritual knowledge, more or less profusely at their own discretion. It appears too, from the statements of some travellers, that the ignorance of the seculars, not excepting the nobility, upon these subjects, is scarcely less than that of total strangers. They have, indeed, no opportunities of gaining information. The meetings of the Akils for religious purposes are altogether private and exclusive. It is true, that like the founder of the sect, they admit their wives to a free participation in their own peculiar privileges. But then it must be recollected, that they never intermarry with the Jahils. In a word, the distinction between these classes is as great, and as scrupulously perpe-

tuated, as that between any of the castes in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Druses, with whom travellers for the most part come in contact, are unable to give any satisfactory intelligence respecting the faith which they profess to follow. And when we consider that the great mass of them are excluded altogether from religious worship, we can scarcely be surprised at Burckhardt's statement, that they are mere deists, with few sentiments or feelings, and no exterior forms, of a religious nature. In the opinion of the same traveller, we must also be content to acquiesce, that little can be known with certainty, respecting their religion, till some of their ecclesiastics shall be prevailed upon to make a full disclosure. In consequence of this exclusive appropriation of religious knowledge to a single order, the character of the nation at large has been formed by political, rather than religious, circumstances. In language, and in many of their habits, they strongly resemble the Arabs. Like them, they are hospitable, generous, vindictive, adepts in horsemanship, and fond of military exercises; while the comparative liberty which they enjoy, and their total exemption from the capricious tyranny which grinds the faces of their miserable neighbours, has given them a character of frankness, dignity, and independence, which is equally unknown to the oriental Christians and their Moslem masters. They are all tillers of the ground, but are able to raise on an emergency a militia of forty thousand able-bodied men. Their manners are characterised by primitive simplicity combined with a delicate politeness, occasioned probably by their elevated notions respecting the female sex. In a word, in whatever light we view this singular race of men, we cannot but regard their history and manners as among the most interesting objects of inquiry which the Eastern world presents.

REVIEW.

Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ; and on the Atonement and Redemption. By JOHN PYE SMITH, D. D. London. B. J. Holdsworth. 1828. pp. 316. 8vo.

THE author of these Discourses has long held a distinguished place among the Dissenters, in England, as a learned and orthodox theologian and accurate biblical scholar. As an able writer, also, Dr. Smith is well known to the religious community, especially by his important work on the divinity of the Saviour, entitled, *SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY TO THE MESSIAH*. And it is to us a matter of some surprise that this production has never been re-published in this country; as the subject treated is of the highest importance, and one earnestly discussed among us.

It is known to our readers, that Dr. John Pye Smith is professor of theology, in the Academy at Homerton, where a large number of the pastors in the Independent churches of England, receive their education. This important station he has filled, with great respectability and usefulness, for many years. In his theological opinions, he may be denominated, without impropriety, a moderate Calvinist; though his creed is not derived from any human system or human authority, but from a careful, critical, and conscientious study of the Scriptures. The trait in his character which appears most conspicuously in his writings, is an ardent love of truth. To this he seems to be willing to pay supreme deference; so that he will avail himself of no argument or interpretation unless he is convinced that it is sound. Under

the influence of this noble disposition he is sometimes led to concede some points, which others on the same side have strenuously maintained; and has thus appeared, occasionally, to weaken his own cause. But after all, it is probable, that he gains more than he loses by such a course. Truth needs no aid from error and sophistry; and every defender of truth should be scrupulous, not to admit any suspicious auxiliaries. It has a mighty influence to disarm the prejudice and conciliate the favour of the reader, when an author makes it manifest, that he would not willingly mislead him, if he should have it ever so much in his power.

Dr. Smith appears to be extensively acquainted with the writings of the best theologians, both of ancient and modern times. He has not overlooked, in his various reading, the celebrated writers of the new school of theology, or rather neology, in Germany. The opinions of these subverters of pure Christianity, he treats, as they deserve, with little respect; but he does not disdain to derive aid from the profound and critical researches of these indefatigable scholars.

The first of the Discourses in the volume before us, was originally published as early as the year 1813, and was well received by the public, and highly esteemed by the friends of sound doctrine, notwithstanding that it followed the learned and popular work of Dr. (now Archbishop) Magee, on the same subject. On the general doctrine of the vicarious sufferings of Christ, Dr. Magee's Discourses and Dissertations, produced an extensive and salutary impression on the public mind. Perhaps, no publication, in the English language, for a century past, has had a more beneficial operation, in settling the sentiments of men on this important doctrine. But excellent as this work is in establishing the main point relative to the atonement, yet if we look to it for satisfaction on a number of subordinate but important points, we shall be disappointed in our expectation. Clear and definite ideas of the necessity, nature, and end of the

atonement, are much more satisfactorily exhibited by Dr. Smith, in these Discourses, than in the more popular work of the Archbishop. In our own opinion, however, the old work of Dr. Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, is superior to both of them, in just and accurate views, on this important subject. This valuable treatise has been long known to the learned, and within a few years, has been rendered accessible to the English reader, by the translator of Calvin's Institutes.

Dr. Smith has adopted a practice in the citation of testimonies from the Scriptures, against which we feel constrained to enter our protest. Instead of quoting the words of the authorized version, he gives us his own private interpretation. In his preface, he has assigned his reasons for pursuing this course, but we are not satisfied with the apology. If one person may use this liberty, so may every one, and the consequence would be, interminable confusion. Every smatterer in Greek and Hebrew literature, and every wild errorist, would come forward with their *improved* versions, of such parts of Scripture as they wished to turn to the advantage of their own cause, and thus the word of God would be rendered contemptible, and the confidence of the people in it as a fixed and infallible standard would be greatly shaken by seeing the sense of the same passage so differently represented. We do sincerely hope, therefore, that this example will not be followed. We do not say, that our English version of the Bible is infallible, or that it has any authority, where it departs from the true meaning of the original; but the correct method of proceeding, in our opinion, is, to cite testimonies, in the words of the commonly received version; and then, if the writer is of opinion that the sense is not fairly or fully given, let him exercise his critical skill, as much as he pleases, in endeavouring to elicit and establish the true meaning.

The style of these Discourses is, for the most part, perspicuous, and sometimes forcible and animated; but in our

judgment, too much minute and dry criticism is introduced into them, which should have been referred to the Notes and Illustrations. As they are now constructed, they cannot possibly be of any use but to the learned reader ; whereas by throwing the greater part of the critical discussion into the Notes, the principal argument would be level to the capacity of any intelligent person.

We think it also a fault, that the learned author, by endeavouring to render his definitions very accurate, in the abstract, often introduces obscurity into a subject, otherwise plain. Of this we have a remarkable example, in the Third Discourse, (p. 183.) where he formally gives the definition of *holiness* and *sin*. "Holiness," says he, "is the respecting of the *due relations*, or the objects of intended reference, which *ought to be*, in the performance of actions." And, "Sin is the absence of respect to the due relations of actions." Now, we believe, that these definitions are accurate ; but do they elucidate the subject ? If the words defined were removed, would any mortal be able to divine, what the subject of the definitions was ? It would answer just about as good a purpose, to exhibit holiness and sin in algebraic signs.

Indeed, the greatest defect which we have observed in this truly learned and respectable author, is, too great a fondness for abstract reasoning, in cases, where the simple declaration of God is of more weight than all the reasonings in the world.

Our object, in the review of these Discourses, is merely to bring them to the notice of our readers, to furnish them with a general analysis of their contents, and to give some extracts of sufficient extent, to enable them to judge for themselves, not only of the author's style, but of his theological views.

The text on which these Discourses is founded, is, Heb. ix. 14,—*The blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God.*

In the first Discourse—which in this edition extends through 82 pages—the subject treated is, *THE NATURE OF THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST*. In discussing this important point, the author considers the following particulars. 1. The general nature of sacrifices. 2. The symbolical character of the ancient sacrifices. 3. The reference of these to the sacrifice of Christ. 4. The proper value of the sacrifice of Christ. 5. The efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ.

The views of the learned author, relative to the nature and origin of the ancient sacrifices, will be best learned from the following extract:—

“A sacrifice, properly so called, is the solemn infliction of death on a living creature, generally by effusion of its blood, in a way of religious worship; and the presenting of this act to the Deity, as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and a supposed mean of compensation for the insult and injury thereby offered to his majesty and government.

“The practice of offering sacrifices to the true God, or to fictitious divinities, is known to have been a custom, in the most complete sense, universal and ancient. The records of the early history of nations, and the narratives of modern discovery, equally show the prevalence of sacrificial rites, in all countries where they have not been superseded by Christianity. The manner in which men performed those rites showed their strong apprehension of importance and interest in them. The inferior and less serviceable animals were not generally devoted to this purpose; but the animals of most utility to man were the usual sacrifices, and these often in large and costly numbers. Such profusion proved the serious earnestness of those who used it: yet, in instances without number, more horrid proofs were given. On great occasions of terror, or of expectation, human beings were the victims of this dire immolation. Unhappy and bewildered mortals have sought relief from the pangs of guilty dread, and have hoped to atone for past crimes by committing others still more awful: they have given their first-born for their transgression, the fruit of their body for the sin of their soul.

“The remote antiquity of these observances is attested by the most venerable remains of classical and oriental composition: and the most ancient and authentic of documents, the sacred history, carries them back to the first family of man.

It is the opinion of some, that, in allusion and accomodation to these practices, and with a view to facilitate the reception of Christianity by gratifying the prejudices of the Jews, the New Testament represents Jesus Christ as having offered a sacrifice to God; though, in a real and proper sense, he did no such thing. These interpreters affirm that, as the Jews had a profound veneration for their temple, their priesthood, and their altar, the first Christian teachers endeavoured to ingratiate themselves and procure acceptance to their system, by finding in it likewise a priest, a sacrifice, and an altar. To this mode of representation we object, that, as an hypothesis, it is defective, and that it is contrary to the testimony of Scripture.

"It is defective, as an hypothesis, in that it leaves the previous fact unaccounted for; the existence of sacrifices, their origin, and their design. An attempt is made to remove the difficulty, by alleging that the worship by sacrifices 'was of the nature of a present, by way of homage to the Supreme Being.'*—On this supposition, must we not deem the bloodless, innocent, and more natural offering of Cain, the fruits of the earth, more rational in itself, and more likely to be agreeable to the Deity, than that of Abel, which appears revolting to the feelings of humanity, a useless waste of animal life, and, as an act of worship, manifestly absurd? But, passing by the grossness of the invention, what conceptions must those form of the blessed God, who imagine that with such services HE could be gratified?

"We also object that this notion is inconsistent with the plain language of the Scriptures, in regard both to the ancient sacrifices, and to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Evidence for both the parts of this remark we shall presently submit to the reader's judgment.

"A doctrine, the reverse of that to which we have referred, appears to us the dictate of the divine oracles and of impartial reason. This is, that the ancient sacrifices were themselves only *allusions*; and that they were intended as a REPRESENTATION of the sufferings and death of the Messiah, or as a DECLARATION of the doctrine included in that grand future fact, and taught by it.

"In the communication of knowledge from man to man, the living voice is a very imperfect instrument. The extent of its use is narrowly circumscribed by infirmity and death. The advantages of man's primitive longevity were opposed by prevailing and increasing corruption and practical wickedness must in time have effaced right impressions of religious truth. The tongues of patriarchs and pro-

* Dr. Priestly's Notes on Scripture, Vol. i. p. 13.

phets were soon silent in the grave : and the mere memory of their instructions, however for a time affectionately cherished, was a hazardous channel of communication for truths of infinite concern. Hence a *language of mute signs* must have appeared to possess inestimable advantages, as soon as the idea of such an instrument was entertained. Such a representative of language might be of two kinds, the *symbolical* and the *arbitrary*. The latter kind is alphabetical writing : and an admirable contrivance, whether it was entirely the fruit of human ingenuity, or, as some have supposed, originating in divine communication. It is probable that the first extensive use of this invention nearly coincided with the considerable increase of population, and the reduction of the length of human life to its present standard. The brevity, ease, and universal application of this method, have given it an almost exclusive prevalence among the cultivated nations which have been founded to the west of the original seats of the human race.

“ But we have reason to think, that a more remote antiquity may be claimed for the other kind of signs, the *symbolical*. This was a system of natural significancy, in which visible objects or their pictures, and actions performed with this express design, were used to represent and convey information. This plan was prevalent in the earliest periods, and among the most ancient nations. Even at this day, a written language, which is understood by about one third part of the human race, is of this description : the Chinese. It is founded upon the principle of employing characters, not as representatives of sounds, but as types or symbols of ideas ; and it is familiarly understood by nations whose spoken dialects differ greatly.

“ Of this kind we conceive the rite of sacrificing to have been : a *symbolical action*, adapted and intended to convey important instruction. We shall offer our reasons for regarding sacrifices as thus intentionally significant ; and then shall inquire into the particular ideas and moral sentiments which were so represented.

“ Our arguments in favour of the notion that sacrifices were intended as a species of symbolical language, will be drawn from their very Nature and Form, from their Origin, and from the Sentiments of those who practised them.

1. “ The nature, form, and circumstances of a sacrifice carried an obvious import upon their very first aspect. The selection, presentation, and immolating of the unoffending animal, the regard paid to its blood, its consumption by fire, the solemn ceremonies which accompanied, and the particular confessions and supplications of the

worshipper,—must have powerfully impressed the ideas of sin and guilt, the desert of punishment, the substitution of the innocent, and the pardon of the transgressor. When men were accustomed to symbolical actions, such a significancy would be more readily apprehended and more solemnly felt, than under our circumstances and habits. The refinements of advanced society, and the general use of letters, have made us far less sensible to the language of living signs than the ruder children of nature have always been. How much more must the impression on the heart have been increased, when *the first* sacrifice was offered: when the parents of our race recent from their guilty fall, were abased by the divine rebuke, driven from their blissful seat, and filled with dismay at the threatening of DEATH! A threatening piercing through their souls, but of the nature and effects of which they could form none but vague ideas. But when, directed by stern authority, to apply some instrument of death to the lamb, which, with endearing innocence, had sported around them,—an act of whose effects they as yet knew nothing,—they heard its unexpected cries, they beheld the appalling sight of streaming blood, and struggling agonies, and life's last throes,—they gazed upon the breathless body,—and they were told, *THIS IS DEATH*:—how stricken must they have been with horror such as no description could ever paint! When, further, they had to go through all the other process of the sacrifice, their hands reluctant, and their hearts broken, and all their soul crushed down by the sad consciousness that these horrid things were the fruit of their sin, and yet contained the hope of their deliverance;—who can imagine the extremity of their feelings?

2. “The origin of sacrifices we have good reason to regard as from Heaven, and not of men. In the institutes of the Levitical law, the express divine sanction is indisputable: and if we go back to the remotest times, we shall find indications of the same authority. The approbation of God is solemnly recorded to the sacrifices of Job and Abraham, Noah and Abel. But, in religious institutions, the Most High has ever been jealous of his prerogative. He alone is competent to prescribe the terms on which he will hold communion with sinful beings; and he regards as vain and presumptuous, every pretence of honouring him which he hath not warranted. The sacrifice of blood and death, if an idea so revolting could have sprung up in a sinner's mind, could not have been offered to God without impiety, nor would he have accepted it, had not his own authority previously pointed the way by an explicit prescription.

"The goodness which pitied our first parents, in their fallen and degraded condition, furnished them with clothing from the skins of animals. It cannot, by any reasonable presumption, be supposed that those animals had been killed for food. The strong probability, therefore, is that the gracious Being who promised the Messiah as the woman's seed, confirmed the promise, and illustrated the doctrine of forgiveness through him, by the institution of sacrifices.

"Now all divine institutions are marked by the wisdom of their Author. The sabbath, the passover, the rite of baptism, and all other ordinances of worship, are significant and instructive: it is fair to infer that sacrifices were so too.

3. "The sentiments of those who practised sacrificial rites are in favour of our position.

"The ancient heathens universally attributed to sacrifices both significance and efficacy. The oldest representations of their sentiments and manners bear this testimony. Of the classical productions of the western nations, the works of Homer are the most ancient: and who, that has read his two exquisite poems, can be ignorant that by sacrifices, performed or promised, the gods were to be appeased, and the pardon of offences procured? The primitive idea of atonement, buried as it was under idolatrous corruptions, disgraced by superstitions, and polluted with atrocities, was not totally lost. Some of the philosophers, disgusted with the vulgar notions, or shocked at the apparent absurdity of a practice, the meaning and intent of which they knew not, expressed their surprise and disapprobation at so strange a mode of seeking the favour of the Deity: but tradition, uniting with the consciousness of guilt and the dread of punishment, had fixed the notion and practice in the minds of all nations too strongly to be eradicated by philosophic speculations. It was a doctrine held even by some of the Pythagoreans, that the purification of the soul, and its union with God, were effected by sacrifices and sacrificial fire.

"The modern Jews, through their aversion from Christianity has led them in various important points, to abandon the theology of their ancestors, have recognized statements on this subject which we may justly esteem valuable concessions. As a specimen of passages which might be adduced, the following is submitted to your attention from one of their most learned and approved writers, Isaac Abrabenal. 'The blood of the offerer deserved to be shed, and his body to be burned, for his sin: only the mercy of the [Divine] Name accept-

ed this offering from him as a substitute and propitiation, whose blood should be instead of his blood, and its life instead of his life.'

"These inferior authorities are valuable, inasmuch as they may be regarded as the distant emanations of primitive truth, communicated at first by the Author of truth himself. To this high source let us now carry our appeal. If, in his holy word, we find pointed declarations of the absolute inefficacy of the legal sacrifices, except connected with moral acts and dispositions; declarations addressed to the people whom he had commanded thus to worship him, and who could not neglect the observance without incurring his awful displeasure;—can we avoid the conclusion, that they were intended to inform the mind, and assist the faith, of the worshipper? Instances of such declarations in the Old Testament are obvious. 'For what purpose to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith Jehovah. I am disgusted with the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts: and in the blood of bulls and lambs and goats I delight not.' 'I hate, I despise your festivals; and I will not accept the odour [of sacrifices and incense] on your solemn days. Though ye present to me sacrifices and offerings, I will not accept them.'—'Sacrifice and offering thou desirest not:—burnt-offering and sacrifice for sin thou dost not require.'

"By these considerations it appears satisfactorily established that the intention and use of the ancient sacrifices was to be a SIGNIFICANT REPRESENTATION of spiritual and important truth, and that in this view they were understood by those who practised them."

Our next extract is from that part of this Discourse, in which the author undertakes to show, that all the objects which the typical sacrifices represented, are really effected by the sacrifice of Christ. This being a cardinal point in the system, an opportunity will be afforded to the reader, of forming an accurate judgment of Dr. Smith's method of treating the subject, and of his theological opinions, by what follows:—

1. "It is a demonstration of the most momentous and interesting truths, respecting the PERFECTIONS and GOVERNMENT of God.

"He is here manifested as the MOST HOLY ONE, irreconcilable to sin, of purer eyes than to behold evil, and in whose presence nothing that defileth shall ever stand. Had sin been pardoned and its guilt

cancelled, by the exercise of sovereign will, or by an act of mere power; it might have been doubted whether the Almighty were indeed infinite in moral rectitude; it might have been surmised that sin was not so extremely odious in his sight as his word represents, nor holiness so absolutely necessary to the happiness of a rational being. But no such injurious apprehensions can be entertained by those who devoutly study the divine purity as it appears in the doctrine of Christ crucified. Sin is pardoned, but it is not palliated. On the contrary, it is branded with a deeper and more awful mark of Jehovah's abhorrence than if no interposition of grace had been vouchsafed, but the weight of vengeance had fallen on the heads that deserved it.

“The *JUSTICE* of Heaven is displayed. This perfection of the Divine Nature is, indeed, but a necessary exercise of its essential and unchanging rectitude. ‘Justice is goodness directed by wisdom,’ says the judicious Bishop Stillingfleet. The same inspired word which tells us that God is love, tells us also that God is righteous, who taketh vengeance. And the positions are in perfect harmony. It is a necessary and honourable part of the goodness of God that he sets himself against sin. It is in the sufferings of the Saviour, as a sacrifice for the sins of those whom he hath loved, so as to give himself for them, that sin is most clearly shown to be deserving of all the detestation which the word of God expresses. The sincere Christian’s abhorrence to sin is confirmed and increased, by every discoveries of its intrinsic demerit: but such discoveries he makes, in the most convincing and affecting manner, in looking to Jesus, who knew no sin, yet was made sin for us; the spotless and unblemished Victim, who bore our sins in his own body on the cross. Here, too, the persevering transgressor may meditate terror; for if God spared not his own Son, when, by a constitution of wise and holy mercy, he was numbered among the transgressors, what will be the end of those, whose personal and persevering guilt equally tramples on the authority of his law, and insults the grace of his gospel? ‘If these things were done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry?’

“The *LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY* of God is brought to view in its rightful honours. His law is shown to be of the most reasonable character, and of indissoluble obligation; for it is holy, just, and good. It is the expression of his own moral perfection, and he cannot permit it to be depreciated with impunity. It is the most moderate demand that can in any reason be imagined, of excellence which deserves thus to be honoured, and of dominion which requires thus

to be obeyed. A lower requirement cannot be conceived, without charging God with indifference to his perfection and dereliction of his honour. What does his law demand, but that HE should be loved and honoured *proportionably to his merit*? More he does not enjoin: less, it would be infinitely dishonourable in him to require or to accept. The righteousness of the requirement; and the correspondent equity of its sanction, are shown forth in their just glory by the obedience unto death of Jesus the Son of God. Put under the law, he hath magnified it and made it honourable, and is become the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.

"The glory of eternal wisdom is here manifested, in the formation of a moral constitution, by which the guilt and punishment of sin, so far as was necessary for the purposes of sacrificial atonement, were assumed by the sinless Victim; and the worth of his obedience and his sufferings becomes imputable, on grounds of right and reason, to the sinner who is brought to a cordial acquiescence in this plan of holiness and grace. The foundation of this divine constitution is laid in a *union* of nature and covenant relationship, between the meritorious Sufferer and those for whom he suffers, so that a reciprocal proprietorship is made to exist. Striking resemblances to such a constitution of things are not wanting in the visible government of providence: and whoever has attentively considered the amount of human knowledge on the subject of cause and effect, must, I think, of necessity admit that this doctrine of a moral union between Christ and his people rests upon an unshaken foundation of philosophical truth.

"Thus a way is opened for the exercise of MERCY and GRACE in a manner perfectly honourable to the attributes and government of God. He appears a just God and a Saviour: he is just, and yet he justifieth him that believeth in Jesus. And of all the condescensions of mercy, of all the gifts of divine generosity, can any be esteemed comparable with this? 'God commendeth his love towards us, in that, when we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son, to be the propitiation for our sins!'"

2 "By the sacrifice of himself, Jesus Christ voluntarily SUSTAINED that suffering which was the marked PUNISHMENT of sin, and expressly with this view, He was 'made a curse for us.'

"We have seen that the idea of substitution, or vicarious suffering, was essential to the theory of sacrifices, as understood and practised by profane and sacred antiquity, and as we have abundant reason to believe, originally instituted by God himself. Let us now

inquire whether the Scriptures do not, in clear and express terms, attribute the same idea to the suffering and death of our blessed Redeemer.

“The passages quoted under the foregoing head of this discourse, are all strictly in point as evidence for our present purpose; and their testimony appears to me so full, particular, and strong, that I am unable to conceive how it can be eluded in any other way than by assuming principles which would nullify the use of language, and destroy all means of moral certainty. I need not repeat those quotations; and the addition of further testimonies might seem superfluous. But different testimonies present the same truth in different points of view, so as to serve the purpose of mutual illustration: and these varied aspects are highly useful in their adaptation to men's different mental constitutions. Let us keep in sight the precise point, for the evidence and illustration of which the following are adduced, and the preceding texts recollected: that, in virtue of the *union* constituted by the wisdom and grace of God, between the Saviour and mankind, he voluntarily *put himself in their place* and suffered as if he had been a transgressor, in order that they might be delivered from the guilt, or legal condemnation, of their sins, and, by consequence, from the pollution and practical power of sin.

“‘The Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many. I am the good Shepherd: I lay down my life for the sheep: therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again: this commandment have I received of my Father.—This is my blood, the blood of the new covenant, the blood shed on the behalf of many, for the remission of sins.—To feed the church of the Lord which he hath acquired to himself by his own blood. In whom we have redemption by his blood, the forgiveness of our offences, according to the riches of his grace. Who gave himself for us, that he might ransom us from all iniquity. Who gave himself a ransom for all. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us. Who himself bare our sins, in his own body, on the cross: by whose stripes ye are healed. If one died for all then (*ὑπὲρ*, in effect) did the all die;’ that is, upon the constitution of mediatorial grace, and relatively to the great ends of law. ‘Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God. For him that knew no sin, [God] hath made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.—They fell down before the Lamb:—

and they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy,—for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood!”

“Such is the current of the Scripture testimony to the nature, design, and end of the sufferings of Jesus the Messiah. These passages have been recited in their briefest form, and detached from their respective connection: but if the candid inquirer will study each of them in its proper place, and with the closest regard to the continuity of sentiment, it is my serious conviction that the impression made by this insulated representation will be confirmed and increased. A writer of eminence in the polite world, who knew extremely little of theological systems, but who, emerging from a careless infidelity, read the Scriptures with attention and good sense, has described, with regard to our present subject, the effect produced on his mind by such an unbiassed study of the sacred books. ‘That Christ suffered and died as an atonement for the sins of mankind, is a doctrine so constantly and so strongly enforced through every part of the New Testament, that whoever will seriously peruse those writings, and deny that it is there, may with as much reason and truth, after reading, the works of Thucydides and Livy, assert, that in them no mention is made of any facts, relative to the histories of Greece and Rome.

Indeed, I must sit down in hopeless scepticism, and abandon all reliance on evidence and reasoning, if I refuse to admit it as the doctrine taught in Scripture, that the Saviour of mankind voluntarily yielded himself a sacrifice of expiation, bearing the guilt and punishment of sin not his own: when prophets, and apostles, and his own supreme authority, concur in bearing this testimony to his sufferings and the glories that should follow.

“‘Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things?’ That is, was it not fit, proper, and necessary, in the eye of that All-perfect Being who had constructed the plan of human salvation; and who had so constructed it as to meet all the exigencies of the case, both with respect to the wants of the sinner, and the regards due to his own righteous government. The Saviour came to suffer. The chief part of his humiliation was his obedience unto death, even the death of the cross. Throughout his mortal course, he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: but especially the closing scenes of his life were the accumulation of woe. Then was the hour of his enemies, and the power of darkness. We are incompetent to form a proper conception of the precise nature and the degree of suffering,

to which the dying Redeemer submitted. Excruciating were the pains inflicted on his bodily frame, which could not but be delicate and susceptible to a very high degree. But all these were light, compared with the distress of his holy soul. We may be assured, that the severity of his mental sufferings unspeakably exceeded the most affecting ideas that we can form. His agony and bloody sweat, his pungent sense of the triumphs of wickedness and the keen insults of finished malignity, the piercing of his heart by those whom he so generously loved, the bitter cries and supplications and tears which the wondrous Sufferer poured out to his Heavenly Father,—we, alas, can but very feebly and unworthily appreciate! Yet those were but the index of his internal and silent sorrows!

“With respect to the degree of intensity in the sufferings of Jesus, it could not have been less than it actually was, or assuredly it would have been. When the Righteous Father was pleased to crush him with that dreadful and fatal stroke, he still ceased not to delight in the Son of his love. One shade of grief would not have passed over his soul, which infinite holiness and wisdom did not perceive to be necessary. ‘It became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.’

“It is, I humbly conceive, worse than improper to represent the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in their last and most terrible extremity, as the same with those of condemned sinners in the state of punishment. In the case of such incorrigible and wretched criminals, there is a leading circumstance which could not, by any possibility, exist in the suffering Saviour. They ‘eat of the fruit of their own way, and are filled with their own devices.’ A most material part of their misery consists in the unrestrained power of sinful passions, for ever raging but for ever ungratified. Their minds are constantly torn with the racking consciousness of personal guilt; with mutual aggravations and insults; with the remorse of despair: with malice, fury, and blasphemy against the Holy and Blessed God himself; and with an indubitable sense of Jehovah’s righteous abhorrence and rejection of them. No such passions as these, nor the slightest tincture of them, could have place in the breast of the Holy Jesus. That meek and purest Lamb offered himself without spot. His heart, though broken and bleeding with agonies to us unknown, ever felt a perfect resignation to the hand that smote him, and a full acquiescence in all the bitterness of the cup which was appointed him to drink: the resignation and acquiescence of love and conviction. He suffered in

such a manner as a being perfectly holy could suffer. Though, animated by the joy that was set before him, he endured the cross and despised the shame; yet there appear to have been seasons in the hour of his deepest extremity, in which he underwent the entire absence of divine joy and every kind of comfort or sensible support. What but a total eclipse of the sun of consolation, could have wrung from him that exceedingly bitter and piercing cry, 'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?'—The fire of Heaven consumed the sacrifice. The tremendous manifestations of God's displeasure against sin he endured, though in him was no sin: and he endured them in a manner of which even those unhappy spirits who shall drink the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God, will never be able to form an adequate idea! They know not the HOLY and EXQUISITE SENSIBILITY which belonged to this immaculate Sacrifice. That clear sight of the transgressions of his people in all their heinousness and atrocity, and that acute sense of the infinite vileness of sin, its baseness, ingratitude, and evil in every respect which he possessed, must have produced, *in him*, a feeling of extreme distress, of a kind and to a degree which no creature, whose moral sense is impaired by personal sin can justly conceive. As such a feeling would accrue from the purity and ardour of his love to God and holiness, acting in his *perfectly peculiar* circumstances; so it would be increased by the pity and tenderness which he ever felt towards the objects of his redeeming love. A wise and good father is more deeply distressed by a crime which his beloved child has perpetrated, than by the same offence if committed by an indifferent person.

"It should also be considered that our doctrine concerning the design and the effect of the sufferings of Jesus, has not produced those sufferings. They are the same, and the facts are unalterable, whatever opinion be set up concerning their reason and moral cause, under the divine government. Which hypothesis, then, is the most worthy of the wisdom and benevolence of God; the one which attributes to the sufferings of our Lord, an effect beyond all description important and valuable, conferring infinite good upon innumerable myriads of beings, and spreading its beneficent influence through all eternity; or the other, which regards *the same* sufferings as nothing more than a proof of the sufferer's integrity, and an example of patient endurance, to be imitated by other sufferers if they should be so disposed?—Neither could the sufferings of Christ, if their expiatory quality be put out of the consideration, be of any service as a declaration of the general mercy of God, and his readiness to pardon sinners

upon repentance: for how could the analogy or the argument be constructed? Surely it would, in all reason, bear the contrary way. If that pure and spotless One, in whom the Father was ever well pleased, was pressed down with a load, so dreadful, not of outward sufferings only, but of an inward and mysterious anguish, the intense-ness of which we have no means nor power of computing; what must be expected to fall upon us, who are conscious of transgressions innumerable and unspeakable against the law and majesty of Heaven.

“Here let us pause, and admire, and adore. The sacrifice of Christ is not merely a great fact in history, nor merely a foundation for interesting reasonings on theological science; but it touches the most intimate feelings, it affects the highest welfare of every heart. How malignant must be that evil, that enormous and detestable evil, which the unerring wisdom of God sees unfit to be pardoned without this astonishing expiation! O that we may hate it with perfect hatred, and resist it with unremitted vigour! With what lowly adoration and admiring praises should we contemplate the eternal and infinite love of God, in providing such a sacrifice! Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace embrace each other.—Who can unfold the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge? This is the bread of life, which came down from heaven; his flesh which he gave for the life of the world. How great, beyond expression, was the condescension of the eternal Son of God, assuming our nature, bearing our griefs and sorrows, the penal consequences of our sins, and yielding up his own invaluable life under agonies unspeakable, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, from the guilt and power of our ruinous apostacy! ‘Hereby perceive we his love, that he laid down his life for us.—Unto him that loveth us, and hath washed us from our sins in his own blood,—be glory and dominion, for ever and ever!’

“We proceed to state a further effect of this great measure in the grace and government of God.

3. “The sacrifice of Christ is a full and perfect SATISFACTION to the honour and justice of the divine government in pardoning and saving sinners. In other words, it has affected a perfect RECONCILIATION and harmony between two apparently incompatible principles; on the one hand, the equity and wisdom of God’s moral legislation, in all the propriety of requirement, and the veracity of denunciation; and, on the other, the exercise of his benevolence, in rescuing from ruin, and restoring to holiness and happiness those of mankind whom

out of a principle of sovereign and absolute grace, (not indeed arbitrarily, but for reasons infinitely weighty, though not revealed to mortals,) he may judge proper thus to bless.

“That some instances of sin, though only between fellow-creatures, have a real and proper *desert* of suffering as a penalty, few can so violate the dictates of reason and moral feeling, as to deny. In the universal estimation and the ordinary language of men, acts of deep and malicious injury, of enormous cruelty, perfidy, and ingratitude, call for *condign* punishment. If we were considerate and impartial enough to extend our views to the whole moral universe, including in a *due manner* its glorious and infinite Sovereign, we should be convinced that *his* claims on the entire affection and devoted obedience of his rational creatures are infinitely superior to those of an earthly parent, friend, or benefactor, under any conceivable circumstances; that a violation of those claims has a *proportionate criminality*; and that on the principles of equal justice, every such violation deserves an adequate punishment. On the question, *what* punishment is *adequate*, can any one be so bold as to deny that God alone is the perfect, competent, and unexceptionable Judge? And if, in his accredited revelation, he has informed us of the result of that unimpeachable judgment, is it wise, or safe, or pious, for us to entertain a different opinion? The Scriptures are full of solemn declarations of God’s punitive justice. He has both affirmed the claim of eternal righteousness, and declared his resolution to carry it into execution. ‘Wilt thou, forsooth, condemn UNBOUNDED JUSTICE?—According to a man’s work, will he render unto him: and according to the ways of a man shall it befall him. Woe unto the wicked! Ill to him! For the retribution of his works shall be done to him. The judgment of God is righteous, and according to truth. He is righteous in taking vengeance. Vengeance is mine; I will repay; saith the Lord. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.’ He will treat sin, and deal with sinners *as they deserve*, but not *beyond* the measure of their desert. ‘Justice and judgment,’ not blind passion, ‘are the foundation of his throne.’ The most cursory reader of the divine word, must be aware how much and how strongly it speaks of the deep, fixed, unalterable, and infinitely terrible DISPLEASURE of the great Jehovah against sin. The most vehement expressions are borrowed from the affections, actions, and language of mankind to set before us this all-important idea. We are assured, in the most awakening terms, of the anger, the indignation, the wrath, the fury, of God against sin and sinners. Every one must admit that this is the

language of condescension to the weakness of human conceptions, under the necessary circumstances of a primitive language, when men had not proceeded to the invention of more abstract and philosophical terms; and that it must be understood in a manner congruous with the perfection of the Divine Nature. No agitations or emotions, no mutability of knowledge or will, can be for a moment admitted. A careful survey of the whole testimony of the Scriptures, in this view, will show us that the design of these awfully sublime expressions is to represent to us God's necessary and infinite abhorrence of moral evil; and his determination to give all suitable evidences or expressions of that abhorrence. Those expressions must be *public*, or they would not answer the end of vindicating the divine righteousness: and they must be of such a kind, and enforced to such a degree, as shall be *adequate* to all the purposes of divine wisdom. But it is evident that, of the measure which shall constitute adequacy, God alone can judge, and fix it with the perfection of rectitude.

That sin, then, should be punished according to its desert, the supremacy, holiness, justice, and veracity, of the Most High absolutely require. But how can it be consistent with those perfections to punish the innocent?—Unquestionably it would be wrong to punish the innocent, as innocent, and irrespectively of any relative or compensative arrangement by which the party, though personally blameless, might suffer to the advantage of the whole case in judgment, and without ultimate injury to himself or to any. If such an instance as included these conditions could be found, the objection would in that case be disarmed. What parent would not undergo the severest labours, difficulties, and sufferings, to save a dear child from calamity or death?—And, even with regard to the affairs of the present life, the all-wise dominion of Providence not infrequently exhibits instances of individuals plunged into extreme distress and acute sufferings, in consequence of faults, in the commission of which they had no share: and still more commonly and extensively, are men, even to a remote posterity, benefited by the virtues of others, to which they have not contributed in the smallest degree. Though such cases fall infinitely short of a parallelism to the grand instance of Redemption by the Sacrifice of Christ, yet they serve to show that the notion of moral substitution has its foundation in the constitutions of nature, as fixed by the Almighty Author.

The second of these Discourses, is ON THE PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST. The former part of it contains a critical expli-

cation of all the titles given to Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews. These are, A PRIEST—A HIGH PRIEST—A GREAT PRIEST—A MESSENGER—A MINISTER OF THE SANCTUARY—THE LORD—A SANCTIFIER—A BROTHER—A SURETY—A MEDIATOR—AN AUTHOR—A SAVIOUR—AN INTERCESSOR—A SHEPHERD—THE SON OF GOD. This extended series of critical remarks, will be considered by most readers, as tedious and uninteresting. We had particular reference to this Discourse, in the remarks before made, respecting the structure of these Discourses.

Under the appellation, MEDIATOR, the learned author attempts an exegesis of two of the most difficult passages in the Bible. The first is, Gal. iii. 20. *Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one.* The paraphrase of this text, which is the result of Dr. Smith's critical investigation, is given in the following words:—

“(V. 19.) In the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, an intervening agent between God and the people was employed, namely, Moses. (v. 20.) But such an intervening agent does not belong to any single party. Had the revelation made on Sinai been a promulgation of simple law, there could have been no such interposer; for in the declaration of authoritative commands, the superior person acts a part purely sovereign. He issues his mandate, and he expects unqualified obedience. Had, therefore, the declaration from Sinai been such, God would have given it immediately from himself. But, on that occasion, he was pleased to act as ONE of two parties treating with each other. (See Deut. v. 5, 23, 27, 28.) So that the employment of Moses in this service of intervention between Jehovah and the Hebrew nation, was a kind condescension to the distress and the fears of the people, was an act of special grace, and was an intimation of still greater mercy to be shown to sinners. (v. 21—24.) Therefore the Law of Sinai is not contradictory to the design of the Gospel: for, though it could not give pardon and spiritual blessedness, it was admirably adapted to serve as a preparatory arrangement for the introduction and illustration of that glorious and effective grace which shines in the Gospel of Christ.”

The other passage explained, is, Heb. ix. 15—17. On this, the remarks of the author are too long and too undecisive, to make it proper to insert them here.

The latter part of this second Discourse, considers *the properties and descriptive characters* which are attributed to the Priesthood of Christ: These properties are, 1. *It is unique.* 2. *Perfect.* 3. His sacrifice was *expiatory* and *propitiatory*. 4. Is continually *presented*, by his intercession, and is therefore *ever valid and efficacious.* 5. The effects produced by this glorious arrangement of divine wisdom, holiness, and grace, are stated to be the following:—

1. "Ratifying the gospel-covenant, that is, the revealed purpose and plan of God for the salvation of sinful and justly-condemned mankind. vii. 22. viii. 6. ix. 15. x. 7—9.

2. "Christ's enjoying the rewards due from the righteousness of the divine government, to his meritorious obedience. Of these rewards, the most grand and gratifying to his exalted benevolence is, the *right of conferring infinite and everlasting blessings* upon an inconceivable multitude of sinful and otherwise lost men, in unison with securing and displaying the brightest glory of the divine perfections; v. 9. vii. 25. ix. 14, 15, 28. x. 10—13; besides other passages and the general tenour of the Epistle, all leading us to continue 'looking unto Jesus, the Author and the Finisher of our faith, who FOR THE JOY that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.' xii. 2. 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of RIGHTEOUSNESS is the sceptre of thy kingdom! Thou hast loved righteousness and hast hated iniquity: THEREFORE, O God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy companions!' i. 8, 9. See also Matt. xi. 27. Joh. i. 12. xvii. 2.

3. "The legal *reconciliation* of God and all sinners who cordially receive the Gospel method of salvation. This all-important idea is presented under two aspects.

(1.) "*Expiation or atonement.* This denotes the doing of something which shall furnish a *just ground or reason* in a system of judicial administration, for *pardoning* a convicted offender.

(2.) "*Propitiation:* any thing which shall have the property of disposing, inclining, or causing the judicial authority to *admit* the ex-

piation; *i. e.* to assent to it as a valid reason for pardoning the offender.

"Expiation, therefore, regards the condition of the offender; propitiation, that of the judge or sovereign. We can conceive cases in which an expiation, good and reasonable in its kind, might be offered, and yet a wise and good government might not be willing to accept it; *i. e.* might not be *propitious* to the offender and to the proposal for his being forgiven. We can also conceive of a wise and good government being cordially disposed and greatly desirous to pardon an offender; but unable to gratify its gracious disposition, because it can find *no just grounds* for such an act, and it is aware that a pardon arbitrary and destitute of just reason, would relax the obligations of law, bring dishonour upon public justice, and prove of pernicious example throughout the whole community.

"It is also obvious that *the same* thing may be, and is most naturally fit and likely to be, *both* an expiation and a propitiation; *i. e.* be both a valid *reason* for pardoning and determining *motive* to the will of the competent authority to admit and act upon that reason.

Now, in applying these terms, to the great and awful case of ourselves, the whole world of justly condemned sinners, and our Judge, the infinitely Perfect God, there are some cautions of great importance to be observed.

(1.) "Nothing can be admitted that would contradict incontrovertible first principles. But there are two such principles, which are often violated by inconsiderate advocates of the doctrine of salvation by the mediation of Christ; and the violation of them has afforded the advantage of all the plausible arguments urged against that doctrine by its adversaries.

"The first is, the Immutability of God. His moral principles, that is his rectitude, wisdom, and goodness, as expressed by his blessed and holy *will*, can undergo no alteration; for to admit such a supposition would be destructive of the ABSOLUTE PERFECTION of the divine nature, as it would imply either an improvement or a deterioration in the subject of the supposed change. We cannot, therefore, hear, or read, without unspeakable disapprobation and regret, representations of the Deity as first actuated by the passions of wrath and fury towards sinful men, and as afterwards turned, by the presentation of the Saviour's sacrifice, into a different temper, a disposition of calmness, kindness, and grace.

"The second foundation-principle is, that the adorable God is, from eternity and in all the glorious constancy of his nature, gracious and

merciful. He wants no extraneous motive to induce him to pity and relieve our miserable world. No change in God is necessary or desirable, if even it were possible. This is abundantly evident from many parts of the divine word: *e. g.* Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. John iii. 16. vi. 39. x. 17. Eph. i. 3—10. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

(2.) “ This great concern is entirely one of Law and Administrative Wisdom. The great God is, in the unalterable nature of things, and from the necessary volitions of an infinitely perfect mind, the Righteous Ruler of the universe, intellectual as well as physical. Over the latter he rules according to certain fixed principles, some of which he has enabled mortals to discover; and they have called them *Laws of nature*. Over the universe of intellectual beings, who act from volitions and are governed by motives, he rules also according to certain fixed principles; and these are the Laws of the moral world. Our knowledge of them is derived from himself; partly as he has implanted them in the moral instincts of our mental nature, partly as he has made them discoverable by our reasoning powers, and partly as he has given them clear expression by the voice of revelation.

“ The question, whether sinners shall be pardoned, is not one that can be referred to arbitrary will or absolute power. It is a question of law and government, and it is to be solved by the dictates of wisdom, goodness, justice, and consistency. God’s disposition to show mercy is original and unchangeable: in this sense nothing is needed to *render* him propitious. But the way and manner, in which it will be suitable to all the other considerations proper to be taken into the account, that he should show mercy, *none but HIMSELF is qualified to determine*. To deny this would be manifest folly and impiety. Now we have found, and the design of this volume is to present the evidence on the case, that *He has determined*, and has given us to know that pardoning and restoring mercy shall be exercised in the way of *mediation and expiation*.

“ From these facts it clearly follows, that a phraseology derived from the administration of government and law is proper and necessary, in all our considerations upon this, the most momentous and interesting of all concerns. ‘ God is the Righteous Judge: and God is angry [with the wicked] every day.’ But this anger is not a commotion or a mutable passion: it is the calm, dignified, unchangeable, and eternal majesty of the JUDGE; it is his *necessary* love of righteousness and hatred of iniquity. In this his rectoral capacity, therefore, the maintenance of law, the enforcement of equity in relation to the unchangeable distinction of right and wrong, is not a matter of neutrality or of

option; and it involves the necessity of marking sin with a *suitable* demonstration of its moral evil and of the displeasure with which it is regarded by the Eternal Jehovah; and *this is punishment*. The execution of such punishment, which having been determined by unerring goodness and wisdom, cannot but be strictly proper, must follow in the regular course of moral antecedents and consequents. The promulgation of this course is a *threatening*; and it is rendered proper by a regard equally to the honour of the government and to the benefit of the governed. Threatening and punishment impress justly and necessarily with the idea of the displeasure of the Lawgiver and Judge. Pardon, when, on any consideration, it takes place, brings the true and just idea of a *change*: but that change, in the great case before us, is not in the mind or character of the Supreme Ruler; but it is in the administration of his government, and in those outward acts by which that administration is indicated. This change is, in the order of moral right, the effect of an adequate *cause*. This cause lies in the whole Mediatorial work of the Lord Jesus Christ, but most particularly and essentially in his sufferings and death; and these have constituted the EXPIATION.

“Let it also be remembered that this method of ‘grace reigning through righteousness’ has not come from any extraneous influence, in its invention, suggestion, or operation. It is the pure and sole emanation of the FATHER’s *infinite, eternal, and unchangeable LOVE*. It is the exercise of *free and sovereign beneficence*.

“It also follows that the terms *anger, indignation, wrath, sentence, threatening, punishment, remission, reconciliation, propitiation*, and similar expressions, are, under all the circumstances, most proper to be employed, and are the best calculated to produce a just sense of the evil of sin, and many other salutary feelings; yet that we should be careful to understand them as expressing *modes* of the divine administration, and *effects* of the divine counsels, but *not affections operating upon* the Divine Nature, nor *changes* in it. A creature who is under the guilt and dominion of sin, stands in that position, with respect to the necessary and unchangeable attributes of God, which is fitly expressed by terms denoting the strongest displeasure and abhorrence. A change of state and character, so as to be brought into a new set of relations to the divine attributes, is as fitly expressed by the language of love and approbation. For example: ‘God is jealous and the Lord revengeth, the Lord revengeth and is furious, the Lord will take vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies.—Who can stand before his indignation?—The Lord is good, a strong

hold in the day of trouble, and he knoweth them that trust in him.' Nahum i. 3—7. 'And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee; for thou wast angry with me; thine anger is turned away, and thou hast comforted me!' Is. xii. 1. Upon a different application of the same general principle, the varied dispensations of God's righteous providence towards his sincere yet imperfect people are represented by similar expressions, yet all referring to modes and effects of the divine administration. 'O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away!' Dan ix. 16. 'Thus saith thy Lord, Jehovah, even thy God who pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, the dregs of the cup of my fury; thou shalt not drink it any more.' Is. li. 22. Yet we are not warranted to understand such passages as these, as indicating a real change in God; any more than we should be to believe that he is the subject of hope, of fear, of precarious expectation, of wishes, of disappointment, and of regrets, because, in condescension of human infirmity, and to the state of mental culture in the infancy of the human race, the external forms of the divine dispensations are described in language borrowed from those affections in men: *e. g.* Gen. ii. 19. iii. 22. vi. 6. Deut. xxxii. 19, 27, 29. Is. v. 4, and many other passages.

The *change* by which a guilty and polluted sinner becomes freed from the sentence of condemnation, pardoned, regarded with complacency, and qualified for the noblest employments and delights, *is not in God*; but it is in the *relations* under which the sinner stands towards God, and in the state of *his own mind and character* consequent upon those altered relations."

The title of the third Discourse, is, ON THE ATONEMENT MADE BY CHRIST. But this will furnish the reader with no correct idea of the subjects treated. It should have been entitled, THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF GOD'S MORAL GOVERNMENT, as will appear by the following table of its contents;—The divine moral government—The spirit of the moral law—Its grounds and reasons—Nature and distributions of holiness—Nature of sin—Essential principles of happiness—Obligations to obedience—Disobediencce—Effects of violated obligation—Justice of the divine government—Punishment, natural and positive—Depravity and

guilt of the human race—The conceivable results of the moral condition of man—A compensation and Mediatorial system.

This Discourse gives evidence of a mind accustomed to profound and just thinking. It is replete with sound doctrine; and the truths here presented, are traced to their first principles. Our only objection has already been stated. Every thing is rendered too abstract. Principles of reason are resorted to, rather than the plain unequivocal declarations of Scripture. It may be alleged, indeed, that those with whom our author contends, will not admit our interpretation of the plainest texts which speak of atonement; but will they more readily acquiesce in the conclusions derived from abstract reasoning? But we would not be understood, as expressing dissatisfaction with this able Discourse. It is, upon the whole, truly excellent. But our limits will not admit of making any extracts; and indeed, the principles exhibited, are so connected together, that it must be preserved entire, and read in connexion, in order to see the bearing and force of the argument. But we would earnestly recommend the careful and repeated perusal of this Discourse, to theological students. It contains, undoubtedly, the true principles on which the doctrine of the vicarious sufferings or atonement of Christ, is founded.

On some points, disputed among the orthodox themselves,—the author speaks in a vague and unsatisfactory manner; but these are things of small importance, when compared with the great radical doctrine, which is so ably sustained, in this Discourse.

The fourth and last of these Discourses, is, ON THE REDEMPTION EFFECTED BY CHRIST. The object of the learned author, here, is to vindicate from the cavils and objections of opposers, those numerous words and phrases, in which allusion is made to pecuniary or commercial transactions. This Discourse is short, and, for the most part, critical.

The words referred to above, are taken up in detail ; their import ascertained ; and the common objections made to this mode of representing the work of Christ and blessings of salvation, are answered.

The remainder of the volume—about 100 pages in small type—is occupied with notes and Illustrations, replete with learning and criticism, and calculated to shed light on the points discussed in the preceding Discourses.

WITSIUS

ON THE COUNCILS OF THE HEBREWS.

[TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED.]

IN the history of the Hebrew commonwealth, we read of three kinds of judicial assemblies, which may be distinguished as the Least, the Greater, and the Greatest.

The first of these courts consisted only of the Judges of the tribes ; and it is agreed among the Jews, that it could not be composed of an even number of persons, since in that case, it might be sometimes impossible to decide a question. The least number, therefore, must be three.* This triumvirate had authority in those cities, the population of which did not exceed a hundred and twenty families, and was competent to determine controversies within that circle. We are informed, however, by Maimonides, that it was deemed proper and honourable, on certain occasions, to admit additional members, to investigate the cause and be witnesses of the sentence, and that the number of these might, in case of dissension, be increased to eleven.

This court was constituted either by public authority, or by the private consent of the parties concerned. The Great Sanhedrin had the supervision of justice in the several towns and villages, agreeably to the command, Deut. xvi. 18. Judges were also chosen *pro re natâ*, partly by the

* Maimonides, de Sanh. c. iv. § 4. Buxtorf. Sex. Talmud. col. 2518.

compromise, or mutual consent of the litigants, partly by the determination of an individual, as when an act of voluntary jurisdiction was to take place. Thus Maimonides says, "Pecuniary cases are judged by three. Each of the parties selects one arbitrator, and both together agree upon a third. This is the opinion of Rabbi Meir; but the wise men have decreed that the two Judges should elect a third."*

There was less strictness in forming this court, than was observed in the case of the superior Judges; yet there were some qualifications necessary. "In the Judges of the triumviral colleges, while all those things which are required in the elders of the higher courts are not strictly demanded, yet all must possess these seven requisites; viz. 1. Wisdom. 2. Modesty. 3. Fear (of God.) 4. Hatred of a bribe. 5. The love of truth. 6. The affectionate respect of the public. 7. A good reputation."† By an express canon of the Jewish law, certain characters were excluded from this dignity; such, for instance, as gamblers and usurers. These persons might indeed be thus honoured, when they had given tokens of sincere repentance.

The causes which were tried before the Court of Three, were generally cases of a pecuniary nature; also cases of damage and trespass, in which the amount of remuneration was to be determined, and sometimes cases of violence and seduction.

The *Greater Council*, or *Court of Twenty-three*, is next to be considered. Maimonides gives cabalistical reasons for this precise number.‡ There was a court of this kind in each of the larger towns, that is, in those which contained more than 120 families. At Jerusalem there were two; one of which was held on the mount of the temple, and one in the court of the temple. The first of these was composed of eminent men from the smaller cities, who were,

* Sanh. c. iii. § 1. † Naim. Sanh. c. xl. ‡ Sanh. c. 1. § 6.

from time to time, transferred to the second. Only the most highly qualified persons, answering to the conditions proposed to Moses by Jethro, could sit in this council. Causes of all sorts were here determined, with the exception of a few, which were reserved for the Great Sanhedrin.

The members of this court sat in the form of a semicircle, with the President in the midst. At the right sat the Vice-President, and at the left, as we are told, some man eminent for his wisdom. At each extremity of the semicircle was placed a Scribe. Below these were seated three rows of such persons as were called the Disciples of the Wise; in such a manner that the disciples equalled the Judges in number, and were arranged according to their respective attainments. In cases of difficulty, the highest in rank of the disciples was called to the bench, and his place was supplied by the next below him, the lowest vacancy being filled from among the people. In this manner also, seats vacated by death or sickness were occupied. Josephus and the Talmudical writers are at variance, with respect to the number of persons constituting this court. By the former, it is fixed at seven, and no satisfactory explanation of the discrepancy has been given.*

All that has been said, however, is merely preparatory to the consideration of the *Great Council*, or *Sanhedrin*. Let it be observed, then, that these courts were independent of one another, and that there was no appeal from the lower to the higher. Each had its peculiar jurisdiction, and the three were in other respects, co-ordinate bodies. The Court of Three took cognizance of pecuniary claims, and crimes which were not capital. The Court of Twenty-three decided upon cases of life and death. Set while the litigants could not appeal to the highest council, the Judges were permitted to send up difficult questions for decision.

* V. Grotius on Matt. v. 21.

John Selden, that prodigy of learning, has fully discussed these subjects in his work, *de Synedriis Hebraeorum*, yet not in a manner such as to be profitable to ordinary readers. John Leusden has also given us a dissertation on the councils of the Hebrews, in his *Philologus Hebraeo-mixtus*, a work which deserves to be recommended to all students.

The Sanhedrin (or Sanhedrim,) is supposed by the Jews to be indicated by various names in the Scriptures, and other Hebrew writings. The word מְחֻקֵּק (Me Ho Kek) which is translated *law-giver* in Gen. xlix. 10, is derived from a verb which signifies primarily to *engrave* or *write*, and hence, to *decree*. Isa. x. 1. It may mean either a Scribe or Legislator. Moses is thus designated, Num. xxi. 18, and the princes of the people, Jud. v. 9. They are elsewhere called *the elders of Israel*. Ex. iv. 29; xv. 3. Deut. xxxi. 9.

No person could be elected to either of the higher councils, who had not previously been set apart by the laying on of hands. "The same regulation," says Maimonides, "extends both to the lower Sanhedrin, and the triumviral court, that it is necessary for every one who is elected to that council, to be constituted by the imposition of hands, by one who has in like manner been previously constituted. Moses our master thus ordained Joshua, according to that which is written, Num. xxvii. 23. 'And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge.' " This is that imposition of hands by which any one was constituted an elder; and Paul is supposed to have alluded to this, 1 Tim. iv. 14. However this may be, we find "the Sanhedrin and the eldership of the people," mentioned in connexion, Acts iv. The whole Jewish council was called the "Presbytery," or all the estate of the elders," Act xxii. 5, and "the eldership of the people," Luke xxii. 66. All who were thus set apart were not necessarily members of the council, but be-

came eligible to that body. They were likewise called *Shofetim* or Judges; whence the Syrian and Carthagenian *Suffetes* as Grotius supposes.*

The more recent names of this council are, בית דין הגדול "the house of the great judgment," and סנהדרין the *Sanhedrin*, a word most clearly of Greek origin, although the Jews have various fanciful derivations from the Hebrew. Συνέδριον, signifies in Greek either the Jewish council itself, Matt. xxvi. 59. Acts v. 21, or the place of court, or place of assembly.†

The Sanhedrin is entirely distinct from the *Great Synagogue* to which belonged Ezra, Daniel, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, and other illustrious men of that day. The latter consisted of a hundred and twenty persons, and was not an ordinary institution, but ended with Simon the just, the person who met Alexander the Great, about forty years after the building of the second temple. It had for its single object the restitution of the Scriptures, and the deliverance of the church from Babylon.‡ There have been some learned men who have even denied the existence of any such synagogue.

The institution of the Sanhedrin is thus related by Grotius, and other learned men, both Jews and Christians, who maintain its antiquity. We read, of "Elders of the children of Israel," even in Egypt, men who seem to have been appointed to represent those who accompanied Jacob. The Greeks and Romans also derived the names of their senators from the circumstance of age. At the instance of Jethro, Moses chose "able men out of all Israel, who judged every small matter," Ex. xviii. 21. Still the original seventy are continued; the same who drew near to God,

* Deut. xix. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 5, 8. Deut. xvii. 9. Jud. xii. 6.

† Herodian de Pertenace. Lib. ii. c. iii. Lib. iv. c. x.

‡ Buxtorf. Tiberia. P. I. c. 10.

and feasted in his presence, Ex. xxiv. When at last Moses complained that he was unable to bear so heavy a burden, he was directed to institute a council of seventy men. These had already been officers over the people, but men now set apart, with a new inspiration of God; and this is believed to be the first solemn and divine institution of the Sanhedrin.

The unanimous tradition of the Jews, is, that every great council consisted of seventy men, over whom was placed a President, as the representative of Moses, thus making the whole number seventy-one. There was no preference given to any tribe, yet the members of the Sanhedrin were generally priests. The tribe of Levi was less occupied with agriculture,—more at leisure to become familiar with the law, and, from the annual tithes, more able to labour without emolument in this court, than other tribes; while they were also frequently called to Jerusalem, where this assembly met. Yet the Levites and Priests, as such, had no precedence of their brethren, and even the High Priest was not a member of this Council, by virtue of his pontificate, but only when qualified, and duly called. So that if Priests and Levites were not found with the necessary attainments, “it was good and lawful, even for the whole Senate to consist of Israelites of three tribes.”*

“The King of Israel was not a member of the Sanhedrin, because it is unlawful to dissent from him, or to contradict his word. The High Priest, however, may be a member, if his wisdom correspond with his dignity. The Kings of the house of David, though not admitted to the Councils, sat and judged the people by themselves.† From the Talmud it appears that Proselytes might attain to this honour. The qualifications requisite in Judges are laid down both negatively and positively, by the Rabbins. 1. A man decrepit

* Maim. Sanh. c. i.

† Sanh. c. ii. § 4.

from age was excluded. 2. An unfortunate order of men whom the ancients supposed to be peculiarly cruel: thus Claudian;—

———Eunuchus nulla pietate moventur,
Nec generi natisve cavet: clementia cunctis.
In similes, animasque ligant consortia damni.

3. A childless man. 4. A mere youth. 5. A man without useful employment. 6. A man remarkably deformed. The following were the positive qualifications. 1. Height of stature. 2. Eminent wisdom. 3. A pleasing form. 4. Maturity of years, verging towards old age. 5. Skill in magic. 6. Acquaintance with the seventy languages, so that he should not need an interpreter.—This skill in magic is well satirized by Cunaeus, and the knowlegde of the seventy languages is not only incredible, but, silly, absurd, and altogether laughable. It is known, however, that the Jews supposed this to be the exact number of human languages.

The manner in which members were introduced into this court, is thus described. Certain members, persons belonging to the Sanhedrin, were sent through the whole land of Israel, to discover such men as were wise, exemplary, merciful, sagacious, and of good report. A man of this character was made Judge in his own town. Thence he was called to the court of Twenty-three, at the entrance to the Mount of the temple; and afterwards to that which was held at the gate of the court, and was finally promoted to the Sanhedrin. The appeal was sometimes made to public suffrage, and even to the lot. The initiation, or ordination of persons thus elected, was celebrated by the imposition of hands; which is to be distinsuished from that by which they were constituted elders. In later ages, this was exchanged for the singing of a solemn hymn.

The principal office of the Sanhedrin, was the President, who is called *The Chief in every place*. or simply *The*

Chief, or the *Head*, or *The Admirable*. At his right hand sat the Vice-President, or *Father of the House of Mercy*. To these some add a third, called *Hakim*, or *Wise Man*, whose place was on the left of the President.

The authority of this council was by far the greatest, whether we consider the subjects investigated, the persons brought to trial, or the weight and efficacy of the sentence pronounced. It took cognizance of every description of case, private and public, ecclesiastical and political. It was the duty of its members to travel through Judea, to appoint magistrates in the towns, and to deliberate on matters pertaining to war and peace. The Talmudists ascribe to them the power of making kings, and the regulation of the whole subject of religion. Persons of every rank were amenable to their jurisdiction, not excepting, if we may believe the Rabbins, either Prophet, High Priest, or King. Concerning false prophets, we find this provision of the Jewish law. "A false prophet shall not be condemned to death in the council of his own city, or in the council of Jabneh, but shall be brought to the Great Council, which is at Jerusalem, and be kept until some feast, and shall be executed during the feast." This throws light upon the words of our Lord, Luke xiii. 33. A High Priest also could be capitally convicted only by the Sanhedrin, by whom he was likewise sometimes sentenced to stripes. Corporal chastisement seems to have been viewed by the Jews, as not more disgraceful than fines among us: the Talmuds inform us that kings themselves were thus punished, by order of the Great Council.*

The sentence pronounced by the Sanhedrin could not be reversed, even by the king. In order to insure justice, a crier always went before the convict to the place of execution, declaring his name, his crime, and the witnesses against

* Selden. Lib. iii. c. ix.

him, and giving notice that any one now had an opportunity to appear in his defence. In case of additional testimony a criminal might enjoy the benefit of a new trial several times, and was favoured with the counsel of two of the disciples of the court.

The punishment of beating, in cases of contumacy, was far more severe than the legal infliction of stripes, which could never exceed forty. The beating of the contumacious person was a species of examination by torture, in which staves were used, and which might be continued even to death. An obstinate disobedience to a decree of the Sanhedrin in important cases, was a capital offence, and their judgment was authorized, as the Jews suppose, by Deut. xvii. 12. A member of the council itself might be punished with death, if he obstinately opposes their decisions.

The place in which this court was held was different at various periods. In the time of Moses, it was at "the door of the tabernacle." Num. xi. 24. After the entrance into Canaan, it followed the tabernacle to Shiloh, Mizpah, Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, the house of Obed Edom, and finally to Jerusalem. A short time before the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans, the chamber of the Sanhedrin was near to the eastern gate of the temple, above the chamber of the door-keepers. Lightfoot infers this from Jer. xxxv. 4, and Chron. ix. 17, 18.* We are told, however, by Maimonides that there was an apartment of hewn stone for this purpose, in the court of Israel, at the southern part of the temple.† There is little certainty as to this point, but we know that there was in the second temple an apartment called the chamber of hewn stone, which took its name from a pavement of costly stones. During the forty years which preceded the destruction of the temple, the Sanhedrin is said to have changed its place of session ten times. The reason

* Descript. Templ. c. ix.

† Selden. Lib. ii. c. 15. § 4.

given for this, is, that while they were in the paved chamber they considered themselves bound to decide upon every case presented, and their judgments were obligatory upon the whole nation. But when they were subjected to the Roman yoke, their power was diminished, they could no longer enforce obedience, and they thought it politic to remove to a less sacred place. It is the opinion of Selden that the *Gabbatha* or *Lithostraton* where Pilate held his tribunal was this hall of the Sanhedrin. John xix. 13. This opinion, though adopted by Lightfoot, seems to be without foundation, especially as we learn from Josephus that the court of Pilate was held in the great Stadium.

The Sanhedrin, like the Court of Twenty-three, sat in semicircular order. In the middle sat the President, at the right hand the Father of the House of Judgment; at his left the Hakim. The remaining judges sat in the order of their rank. At the ends of the semicircle were placed two Scribes, to whom Rabbi Jehudah adds a third. The culprits was introduced through a door which was not upon holy ground. At his right hand was the *Master of Controversy*, either to accuse or defend him, Ps. cix. 31, Zech. iii. 1. The sentence was pronounced by the oldest Judge, the parties being introduced. No member was ever permitted to say, after sentence had been pronounced, that he had dissented from it.

The Sanhedrin sat every day; on the Sabbath, however, in the Synagogue of the Mountain, that it might not be supposed to meet for judicial purposes. They continued in session from the morning until the evening sacrifice. It was not thought necessary that all the members should be present, except in important cases. Twenty-three were sufficient to transact ordinary business.

The history of the Sanhedrin is involved in obscurity. As has already been observed, its origin is fixed by the Jews at the time of the journey in the wilderness. After the death

of Joshua, extraordinary Judges were raised up by providence, but Selden supposes that there were many intermissions in the continuance of these councils.* During the time of Eli, Samuel and Saul, there is no mention of the Sanhedrin in the Bible, but the Jews teach that Samuel received the instruction in the law from Eli and his council, and David from Samuel and his council. Under the reign of Jehosaphat, there is a supposed reference to this body; 2 Chron. xix. 8. Under Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, the princes of Judah are said to have held an assembly *in the entry of the new gate of the king's house*; Jer. xxvi. 10, 11. Under Zedekiah, the authority of this council seems to have been so great that the king himself could do nothing against them; Jer. xxxviii. 4, 5. Ezekiel describes the seventy elders with their President Jaazaniah; Ez. viii. 11. The same is intended, it is thought by the Jews, (whose opinions we are now detailing) by the princes and officers of Jehoiakim; 2 Kings xxiv. 12. According to Grotius, the seventy elders retained their authority during the Babylonish captivity; Ez. i. 5. viii. 16. ix. 1. The Rabbins make Ezra the President after the return from Babylon. The Sanhedrin retained authority until the time of Herod the Great, after which it suffered a great diminution of power. It was divided by Gabinius into five parts; it was almost done away by Herod, was injured by frequent removals, and by the Romans despoiled of power in capital cases. In Judea, as well as other provinces, the provincial Senate could not pronounce sentence of death, without the consent of the governor. This is thought by some to explain John xviii. 31. When Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, the Sanhedrin, according to Grotius, came to an end. But the Jews think otherwise, and have a tradition that upon the destruction of the temple, Rabbi Johannes, the son of Zac-

* Lib. ii. c. 5. † 1.

cheus, and Rabban Gamaliel the Second, presided over the Sanhedrin; and that it existed during the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is also supposed that the aged Simeon, who took our Saviour in his arms, was at that time President, and that he was succeeded by his son Rabban Gamaliel, who was the instructor of Paul.*

Hitherto, all that has been said rests chiefly upon Talmudical authority. There have been men of learning who have denied the existence of any such council in the Jewish commonwealth prior to the time of the Asmonean princes. It is not to be supposed that there are any persons versed in the Talmuds, who are willing to suspend their faith upon the mere testimony of the Rabbins, especially when they speak of events which occurred many ages before their time. Of the early monuments of the nation of Israel, the only remains are in the Scriptures. It is therefore an inquiry of primary importance, whether they contain any notices of such a Council, and of its continuance. The Jews and many learned Christians have maintained that they do, but upon grounds altogether insufficient.

It is affirmed that seventy, or seventy-three persons were set over the people, who had such a superintendence of their affairs as was compatible with the royal authority; and that this was in memory of those whom Jacob brought down into Egypt. The Scriptures, however, afford no authority for this statement. Moses speaks indeed of "the elders of Israel," whom he was commanded to address, but adds no hint that they were invested with authority, or were seventy in number, or were instituted with any reference to those who accompanied the patriarch. In every age, men venerable for their years and wisdom, have been highly honoured, and the elders of Israel were, in all probability, counsellors, rather than magistrates. This opinion is also

* For a catalogue of the alleged Presidents from the captivity, see Witsii *Miscellanea Sacra*. Vol. I, pp. 556-7-8.

confirmed by the fact, that when the nation had obtained freedom, the elders had no pre-eminence, and that Moses alone was the judge of controversies. Those who are called *the officers of the children of Israel*, (Ex. v. 14,) were not Judges chosen by the people, but servants of the Egyptian tyranny, appointed by the task-masters themselves that they might be responsible for the performance of the labour demanded.

It must be acknowledged that *the seventy elders* are mentioned, Ex. xxiv. 1, 9. Let it be observed, however, that they are called "*seventy of the elders of Israel*," which implies that there were others who had the same appellation, from the number of whom these were elected, not as authorized officers, but as companions of Moses in this solemn covenant. The very words of Moses evince that they had no power as magistrates; "And he said unto the elders, tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you : and behold Aaron and Hur are with you ; if any man have matters to do, let him come unto them," v. 24. Nothing, therefore, has hitherto appeared, which resembles the Sanhedrin.

We can gather nothing decisive from the account of the Judges, whom Moses appointed in consequence of the advice of Jethro. These correspond neither with the Council of Three, of Twenty-three, or of Seventy, but were able men out of all Israel, placed over the people as rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, Ex. xviii. 21, 25.

A more plausible argument is derived from Numbers xi. 16, where Moses is directed by God to institute a council of seventy men, who should assist him in bearing the burden of the people. We must here examine whether this council agreed in all points with the Sanhedrin of the Talmudists; whether it was made a perpetual institution; whether it was in fact, continued for so many ages by a regular succession of Senators; whether it was invested with authority over

High Priests and Kings ; and whether it was the appropriate tribunal for the reserved cases specified by the Rabbins. And on all these points we find a total silence in the Scriptures, while the Jewish traditions are scarcely worthy of our belief. These elders were appointed to share the responsibility of Moses, and to allay the discontents of a murmuring people. Ordinary decisions of judicial nature were secured by the existing provisions of the law : and upon the death of Moses, and the possession of Canaan, it is reasonable to suppose that this temporary council was discontinued, as we find no subsequent mention of it in the Bible.

We can deduce no argument for a great and perpetual Council, from the precept in Deut. xvii. 9. "Thou shalt come unto the Priests, the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days," &c. The priests are here mentioned as versed in the law, and the Judges, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as persons qualified to decide ; while there is no proof of a uniform and continual Senate, or of causes submitted to their determination. The very controversies here cited, "between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke," were not the cases reserved for the Sanhedrin, but those upon which any magistrate was competent to pass judgment.

From the convention of the elders, judges, and officers, called by Joshua in his old age, (Jos. xxiv. 1,) we learn nothing of a regularly constituted council, for these persons after the discourse of Joshua, were dismissed, "every man unto his inheritance." The Jews have many traditional fables, concerning the councils in which Eli, Samuel, Saul, Jonathan, and various monarchs presided, but they are inconsistent with the frequent assertion, that Kings could not sit in the Sanhedrin, and are too ridiculous to merit even a refutation. Jehoshaphat "set judges in the land, throughout all the fenced cities of Judah," but this is so far from establishing the existence of the Councils, that it plainly shows

that there were none in existence, especially as the members of those bodies supplied their own vacancies. It is scarcely necessary to add that the seventy elders seen by Ezekiel have no similarity to the Great Sanhedrin.

On the other hand, there are many reasons for believing that there was no such Council in the ancient commonwealth of Israel. There was none in the age of Joshua, who governed the nation, in peace as well as war, without the aid of a Council. There was none during the time of the Judges, who had authority from God himself. Samuel judged Israel for many years, and appointed his own sons his successors ; and in the important transactions which led to the change of government, he consulted not with any Sanhedrin, but with God alone. There was none under the Kings, nor do we find any monarch constituted, censured, or deposed by such an assembly. There was none under Zerubbabel, Ezra, or Nehemiah, who were authorized by Kings of Persia, but are never said even to have consulted the Sanhedrin.

From all these particulars, it seems probable, that the Sanhedrin of the Hebrews, as described in the Talmud, had its origin at the time when the Jews were under the power of the Macedonian Princes, the successors of Alexander the Great : and hence the name *Synedrium*, for the Macedonians called the Senators, by whose counsels the affairs of their government were administered, *Synedria*.* The reader may consult with advantage, the French letters, in which are presented the opinions of certain Dutch theologians concerning the *Critica Sacra* of R. Simon, Lett. x. also Lett. vi. of their Apologist. See also Conringii Exerc. de Rep. Ebraeorum, § 21. The most useful work, however, upon this subject is of later date, by Joh. Vorstius, de Synedriis Hebraeorum.

* Liv. L. lxv. Cap. xxiii.

REVIEW.

Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam. Mit einleitenden Betrachtungen über die analoge Entwicklung der Menschheit und des einzelnen Menschen. Von Adolf Müller. Eine gekrönte Preisschrift. Hamburg, bei Friedrich Perthes. 1828. pp. 394. 8vo.

ON the third of August, 1826, the Philosophical faculty in the University of Berlin, offered a premium for the best work upon the life and literary influence of Erasmus. The prize was awarded in the following year to the work before us, composed by a young man of Berlin, of whom we know nothing, but the fact which he mentions in the preface, that he is totally blind. Of this volume, eighty-six pages are occupied with a treatise on the analogy between the progress of human society, and that of the individual man. That this disproportionate mass of abstract disquisition is wholly irrelevant and foreign from the subject, we have the author's own authority for saying. He apologizes, in his preface, for this large excrescence, confessing that it was appended to his book precipitately, and before he had allowed himself to see that it was inappropriate. It is clear, too, although he does not say it, that the discovery when made, was made too late, and that his parental fondness, as an author, forbade the sacrifice of his misplaced abstractions. With these Prolegomena we shall not meddle, but proceed to the life itself. Even on that, however, we shall offer little in the way of criticism, but rather avail ourselves of its assistance, in pre-

senting a compendious view of the life of the great man, whom it commemorates. The biography of Erasmus is, by no means, a new subject ; but must always be an interesting one. His merit as a writer and a scholar, in itself considered, would suffice to give him a high rank among modern literati, an elevation much enhanced by the part which he bore in the revival of letters, and the relations in which he stood to the Reformers and the Reformation. In the different accounts of his life and character which have been given, there is some discrepancy, confusion, and obscurity. Erasmus was too deeply involved in the absorbing and momentous controversies which disturbed his times, to maintain the pacific neutrality at which he aimed. He was not without enemies, nor without imprudent friends. His picture has, therefore, been often overdrawn. Malice has exaggerated all his faults ; partiality has softened all his foibles, and both at the expense of historical and moral truth. It is gratifying, therefore, to find the subject treated dispassionately and impartially, by one who has given much attention to the subject, and in a work which comes recommended by the preference and sanction of a learned faculty in one of the first Universities of Europe. It was not to be expected that any thing essential or important could be added to the facts already known ; nor is such the case in relation to this work. But that doubtful questions should be solved, contradictions reconciled, falsehoods detected, obscurities elucidated, and the truth exhibited at equal distance from the opposite extremes of favour and dispraise, were all desiderata. How far they are accomplished in the work before us, we shall not pretend to say, but shall make use of what it has accomplished, to exhibit an impartial, though concise, account of the subject to our readers. In so doing, we shall state the leading facts chronologically, without unnecessary disquisition, or minute and scrupulous detail.

Erasmus was the illegitimate son of one Gerard, a young man of respectable connexions at Gouda, a considerable village near to Rotterdam—and of Margaret, the daughter of a neighbouring physician. The intended marriage of his parents was opposed with great violence by Gerard's relations, who used every method to induce him to become a monk. At first, however, they succeeded only in driving him from home by their opposition to his wishes. To avoid their importunities, he betook himself to Italy, where he was residing when his celebrated son was born at Rotterdam on the 28th of October, 1467. After this event, the unfortunate mother seems to have experienced more favourable treatment from the family, as we find her afterwards engaged in bringing up the infant, in amicable union with the mother of Gerard. To Gerard, meantime, information was conveyed, that his mistress was no more : in consequence of which intelligence, he instantly took orders. Returning, however, on a visit to his friends, he found to his astonishment, that he had been deceived ; but refused to abjure or violate his vow. He thenceforward devoted his attention to the child, whom he called after himself, Gerard. This title his son afterwards exchanged for *Desiderius Erasmus*, Latin and Greek words, equivalent in meaning to his Dutch baptismal name.

From the circumstances which attended this illicit amour, and especially the efforts made to drive Gerard into a convent, the manner in which it was finally accomplished, and the consequent prevention of his marriage with the mother of Erasmus, there naturally resulted in the minds of both, a deep and embittered hatred to monastic institutions. This feeling would, of course, insinuate itself into the lessons which they taught their child ; and to this source our author very plausibly attributes the invincible dislike to monks and monasteries, which Erasmus manifested from a boy, and which was abundantly confirmed and strengthened, by his own personal experience.

Bayle and other writers have insisted warmly that Erasmus must have given, and actually did give, in his infancy, the clearest tokens of superior genius. Yet we find him, in his fifth year, admitted a singing-boy into the choir of the Cathedral church at Utrecht. Why such a situation should have been selected for a child which exhibited so early, indications of extraordinary aptitude for learning, is a point which these writers have left involved in mystery. For our own part, we incline to think with the author of the work before us, that the best explanation of the fact is furnished by the tradition still prevalent in Holland, that so far from exhibiting a precocity of intellect, the infant Erasmus was singularly stupid and unpromising. Even to this day, the parents of dull children comfort themselves with the recollection, that the great man of Rotterdam was at first apparently a dunce. It is probable, therefore, that the contrary hypothesis has rather been deduced by a fanciful analogy, from subsequent events, than founded upon fact.

But whatever may have been the child's capacity for other studies, he seems, at least, to have been destitute of musical abilities. After four years of unprofitable residence at Utrecht, in the study of an art, for which, as he says himself, he was not born, he was removed to the celebrated school at Deventer, where his mother also took up her abode, in order to be with him. This institution was established in the fourteenth century, and at the time of which we speak, was among the best existing, though involved in a portion of the darkness which still brooded over Europe. It was in the hands of a number of ecclesiastics, who lived together in society, though they were bound by no vow, and formed no regular religious house. The principal was Alexander Hegius, and among the teachers was John Sinsheim, memorable for his efforts to import into his native country the reviving zeal for letters, which had already been enkindled in Italy. The school was also visited occa-

sionally by Agricola, the most learned German of his time, and one whose whole soul was devoted to the propagation of learning and the sciences among his countrymen. These two distinguished men soon discovered the abilities of young Erasmus. The attention of Agricola was first excited by a Latin theme presented by the lad, when he was on a visit to the school; on which occasion he is said to have predicted, with great confidence, his future greatness; and our author seems inclined to think, that the impression which this prophecy originally made, and the recollection of it afterwards, largely contributed to its accomplishment. For notwithstanding Erasmus's frequent disavowals of all ambition and love of praise, it is certain that in this, and many other instances, he shewed himself both pleased and proud *laudari a laudato viro*. During the two years which he spent at Deventer, he completed the circle of scholastic philosophy, Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, and Ethics, and committed to memory the whole of Horace and of Terence. The latter author was his favourite, and he has somewhere said, that the elegance and purity of the Latin language can in no way be better learned than by perusing Terence.

He was thirteen years of age when the plague deprived him of his mother; and as the whole household was infected, he returned to Gouda. There, he soon after lost his father, who is said to have died of grief, and with his death began the trials of Erasmus. The estate which Gerard left, though moderate, was quite sufficient for his son's support. Unluckily, however, he committed it to men who shamefully abused the trust. As they were also the guardians of the heir, they proposed that he should go into a convent. This he peremptorily declined, and insisted upon being sent to complete his education at some university. These conflicting schemes resulted in a constant struggle, similar to that maintained by Gerard with his relations. Every art was made use of to subdue the invincible aversion of Erasmus

to the cloister, but without effect. Persuasions, promises, and threats, were alike unavailing; and at last, his guardians, weary of the contest, sent him to Bois-le-duc, in Brabant, where a society of ecclesiastics educated children, with a special view to create, in them, a taste for the monastic life. Their assiduities, however, were wasted on Erasmus. The instinctive antipathy which, as our author expresses it, he had imbibed with his mother's milk, could not be overcome by the cajoleries of these good fathers. They could neither seduce him by their flatteries and promises, nor frighten him with tales of ghosts and apparitions, and of men, who, attempting to escape from convents, had been carried off by dragons and devoured by lions. He lived, or to use his own expression, *lost* four years at Bois-le-duc, without, in the least, relaxing his stubborn opposition to his guardians wishes, at the end of that period, he fell sick, and was brought back to Gouda, where he remained three years in open war with his ungenerous and selfish guardians. At the end of that period, he fell in company with one Verdenus, who had been his school-fellow at Deventer, and who, at this time, was a monk in the religious house at Stein, near Gouda. This young man gave Erasmus such a flattering description of the comfort and liberty which he enjoyed, the advantages for study which the cloister offered, and the literary riches of the convent-library, that his repugnance seems to have been vanquished, and his scruples to have disappeared at once. An end was now put to the contest which he had maintained for six years, with his guardians, by his final compliance with their wishes, in 1486, the nineteenth year of his age.

From this event, our author draws an unfavourable inference, with respect to the character of Erasmus; on the ground, that nothing but an utter want of stability and moral firmness could have overcome, so suddenly, and on such a slight occasion, the resolution, which for six years, he had stubbornly adhered to. At the same time, he seems dis-

posed to censure the tenacity with which he first refused to give into the scheme, ascribing his aversion to monastic life, to mere restlessness of disposition, and impatience of controul. From these conclusions we dissent. That there may have been some admixture of this spirit in the motives which led him to refuse at first, and that there was something wild in the abruptness with which he afterwards consented, we admit. But we do not believe, that this mutation of his views was the mere result of caprice and fickleness. The whole tenor of his history evinces, that from the time when his mind was first developed, he was literally an enthusiast for learning. It was his distinguishing characteristic throughout life, and runs through all his acts and writings. While we agree, therefore, with our author, that his prejudice against monastic institutions may have been derived, in some degree, from the instructions and misfortunes of his parents, we believe that it is chiefly attributable to his love of letters. In his conflicts with his guardians, he expressed but one desire, which was, to be sent to the University. By degrees, he became accustomed to contrast as opposites, the college and the convent, a religious life, and the pursuit of learning. Of course, as his thirst of knowledge became more intense, his aversion to the cloister grew proportionally, so that his literary ardour, which is allowed on all hands, to have been extraordinary, is alone sufficient to account for his obstinate resistance to his guardians wishes, even apart from other causes which did really exist. Such being the motives of his conduct in the first instance, it is easy to explain the alteration which took place without impeaching his consistency or courage. By the statements of Verdenus, the monastic life was presented to him in a novel point of view, and one which produced a revolution in his sentiments. He was brought to regard the convent, as an agreeable retreat, where his studies, instead of being thwarted, and discouraged, would enjoy facilities

that could not be had elsewhere, and be aided by a ready access to learned society and well stocked libraries. That he gave ear to this flattering description somewhat rashly, may be true; but if he did give ear to it, and suffer it to influence his movements, it follows, that the self-same motives which impelled him to hold out against his guardians for six years, induced him finally to acquiesce in their interested scheme. At the same time it must be remembered that Erasmus was an orphan at thirteen; that his frame was weak, his temper pacific, and his feelings sensitive; all which may have co-operated, and we doubt not, did, with the cause assigned above, to overcome his obstinate resistance to his guardians.

Whether Erasmus was already so well known, that the monks of Stein were anxious to secure him as a brother, or whether they were governed by the influence of his guardians, we know not. Certain it is, however, that during his noviciate, he was treated with singular indulgence, conventual rules being relaxed or dispensed with, to suit his convenience, and gratify his whims. But notwithstanding this strange policy, he could not reconcile himself to such a life, and it required all the art and authority of his guardians and the monks combined, to prevent his abandoning the monastery at the close of his noviciate. After all, they appear to have succeeded, only by working on his sense of shame, and by representing his continuance as a matter of necessity. Overcome at last by importunity, and weary of contention, he made his profession, in a fit of desperation, took the vows, and became a canon regular.

Every day, however, he grew more disgusted with his situation, and impatient to escape from it. Verdenus, to whom he was indebted for his cowl, appears to have been a very selfish friend, whose only object was to profit by the instructions of so ripe a scholar, in supplying or covering his own deficiencies. A more congenial spirit, was a young ecclesi-

astic from his own town, Gouda, by the name of William Hermann, a scholar and a poet, known subsequently as the author of *Dearum Silva*. With him he lived in habits of strict intimacy, and appears to have derived from his society, the only satisfaction which his residence afforded him.

Five years had now been spent in this disagreeable abode, when an unexpected incident gave him an opportunity of bettering his condition, and it need scarcely be said, that he embraced it joyfully. Henry à Bergis, Bishop of Cambray, who, at that time, was intriguing for a red hat, found it necessary to proceed to Rome in person; and was anxious to procure a secretary who could speak and write pure Latin. This post he offered to Erasmus, whom he knew by reputation, and obtained permission for him from the Bishop of Utrecht, and the Friar of the convent, to accept the offer, which he did, A.D. 1491, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

During his residence at Stein, Erasmus did not, as he has himself confessed, escape the contagion of corrupt example. But although the licentious lives of the recluses led him into some immoralities, we believe his own assertion, that he went not far astray, and so far from going to the same excesses with his older brethren, detested and despised them from his soul. He wrote while in the convent, many pieces, both in prose and verse. Among the rest were Hymns to Christ and the Virgin Mary, elegies, odes, satires; a funeral panegyric on a pious widow; a discourse on peace and discord, and a treatise *de contemptu mundi*, in which he describes freely, the corruption of the world, and, still more freely, the corruptions of the cloister. Of this date also are the earliest of his epistles extant. They are addressed to Cornelius Aurotinus, a priest of Gouda, in defence of Laurentius Valla, of whom Erasmus was a zealous and enthusiastic advocate. Our author, indeed, thinks, that the character and conduct of this illustrious Italian, were the models upon which Erasmus formed his own.

Erasmus, though in orders at the time when he left Stein, was not ordained priest till the following year, on which occasion, he became acquainted with the Abbot of St. Bertin, and the learned Jacob Battus, with the latter of whom he afterwards maintained a correspondence. In his hopes, however, of visiting Italy, he was wholly disappointed, the Bishop being forced to relinquish his designs by the want of pecuniary resources. He retained Erasmus, notwithstanding, in his house, and treated him for five years with respect and kindness. This period, however, seems not to have been a productive season as to literary matters, from the fact, that there are extant no productions of his pen, not even letters, of the date in question. At length, in 1496, he obtained permission of the Bishop to repair to Paris, at that time the most celebrated school of scholastic theology in Europe. A place had been procured for him in one of the colleges, where he could reside without expense, and the Bishop promised him a pension; a pledge which he was unable, or neglected to redeem. In consequence of this disappointment, Erasmus was reduced to utter want. He was not only unable to provide himself with books, but was driven by his poverty into a situation, the miseries of which he has described in the most revolting terms. He was now compelled to seek the means of subsistence by instructing private pupils, though it was an occupation which he seems to have disliked, probably because it consumed the time which he wished to devote to his own improvement. Among his pupils, at this time, was a young English nobleman, Lord Montjoy, who gave him an annuity of a hundred dollars, and continued his friend and patron throughout life. At his request, Erasmus wrote his treatise on Epistolary composition, which drew upon him afterwards the censure of the monks, because he expressed in it a preference of matrimony to celibacy. About this time he refused an invitation to become the private tutor of a rich young Englishman,

who had given up a bishoprick from a sense of incapacity, and now wished to qualify himself, by study, for another. In the beginning of the year 1497, he left Paris, to recruit his health, which was very much impaired. After visiting the Bishop at Cambray, he proceeded to Berges, where his friend Jacob Battus was engaged in teaching the young prince of Burgundy. In this way he became acquainted with the prince's mother, the Marchioness de Vere, distinguished for her liberality to monks and learned men. From her, besides many other favours, he received a yearly pension, which was punctually paid. At her request, he composed a moral treatise for her son, a prayer to Christ, and several to the Virgin Mary. The latter he professes to have written, merely in compliance with her wishes, and against his better judgment. His health being now restored, he took a journey into Holland, and then returned to Paris; but was forced to leave the city, not long after, by the appearance of the plague. He remained three months at Orleans, where he was hospitably entertained by the Professor of Canon Law, J. Tutor. On his return to Paris, he appears to have abandoned the serious study of scholastic theology, and devoted himself to classical literature, particularly Greek, a complete knowledge of which, was then a rare accomplishment. As he had never had a teacher in this language, he adopted the practice of translating into Latin entire Greek works, in order to fix his attention and extend his acquaintance with both tongues. These versions he afterwards committed to the press, a fact which accounts for the large number of classical translations extant among his works. The health of Erasmus, which had been improved by his residence abroad, had failed once more, and continued still precarious. And our author takes occasion in this part of the biography, to expose the inconsistency with which Erasmus gravely attributes his recoveries, from illness, to the care of St. Genevieve, while in his *Christian*

Soldier's Manual, composed about this time, he ridicules and censures the invocation of saints, as a heathen superstition. As the plague still raged in Paris, Erasmus determined to accept an invitation which he had repeatedly received from his pupil, Lord Montjoy, to visit him in England. With his first visit to that country, he appears to have been singularly pleased. The climate, scenery, and manners of the people, but especially the state of learning, and the reception which he met with among learned men, delighted him. Among the distinguished characters with whom, on this visit, he became acquainted, the celebrated Sir Thomas More, and Dr. John Colet, Professor of theology at Oxford, may be particularly mentioned as his most intimate associates. During his stay at Oxford, he perfected himself in the Greek, by attending the instructions of Latimer and Grocyn, who had succeeded in reviving the study of that language. He was also introduced to the young Duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII. to whom he addressed a Latin poem, and with whom he corresponded till his death. After a stay in England of about a year, he returned to Paris, and notwithstanding a disagreeable adventure at the Dover custom-house, whereby he lost twenty pounds, he appears to have gone home with impressions very favourable to the country and its inhabitants. On a visit, which he soon after paid to Holland, he became acquainted with Vitrier, a Franciscan monk, devoted to the study of the Fathers, who encouraged him in a design which he had previously formed of publishing the Fathers, with translations of their Greek works into Latin. The next memorable incident in his biography, is a quarrel with his former patron, the Bishop of Cambray. They were never reconciled; yet on the Bishop's death Erasmus wrote four epitaphs upon him, one in Greek, and the rest in Latin, for which he received six florins, a munificence of recompense, which he ridicules in his epistles with some bitterness. The occasion of this quarrel was probably

the unwillingness or inability of the Bishop to yield him such pecuniary aid as he expected. From the same cause he became displeased with his friend, the Marchioness, who, after his mishap at Dover, transmitted him eight franks, two of which, he says, he took to pay the post. He appears indeed, throughout his life to have given much vexation to his friends by constant importunities for money. In the year 1500, he published his *Adagia*, though incomplete, for the purpose of relieving his necessities. He dedicated it to Lord Montjoy, and added a panegyric upon England. In 1502, we find him studying theology, at Louvain, under Adrian, who was afterwards Pope Adrian VI; at the same time prosecuting, with great zeal, his study of the Fathers, and of Greek. He still kept up his early practice of translating into Latin, and indeed continued it through life, a fact, which, as LeClerc has well observed, evinces that he must have been endowed with as much patience as refinement and acuteness. His favourite among the Fathers was Jerome, among the Greek writers Lucian; though he also expresses a lively admiration of Plato and Plutarch. About this time, he began to study Hebrew; but soon abandoned it, because, as he says himself, it was so new and strange, and because he was unwilling to dissipate his powers by grasping at too many objects. In 1504, he published a work of Laurentius Valla, which he found in a convent library at Brussels. It was a critique on the vulgate, comparing that translation with the original Greek text. To this Erasmus added a discourse, intended to demonstrate the necessity of a new version, and recommend the study of the original tongues.

The reputation of Erasmus, as a classical scholar, and an elegant writer, was now so well established, that the States of Brabant fixed upon him, to pronounce a panegyric oration in their name, before Philip the Fair, on his return from Spain. He accepted this honourable office, though reluc-

tantly, being conscious that he wanted the confident address and self-possession which an orator should have, and at the same time afraid of being branded as a flatterer and sycophant. The oration, however, was delivered in the palace at Brussels, on the sixth of January, 1504; and although, as he had himself foreseen, his motives were misconstrued, his reputation was increased by the performance. Philip, himself evinced his satisfaction by a handsome present, and an invitation to reside at court. The offer was declined; but Erasmus seems from this time to have lived in greater ease and comfort. Still, however, he had not the means of accomplishing his favourite design of seeing Italy, and taking the degree of Doctor at an Italian university, till 1506, when he found himself enabled to defray the charges of this long projected journey, by the liberality of English friends. With a view to this event, he came to England, near the end of the preceding year, and after a short stay in London, visited, first Cambridge, and then Lambeth, where he was presented to Archbishop Warham, Lord High Chancellor, by his friend and instructor Grocyn. He had previously prepared a Latin version of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, with a dedication to his grace, which he put into his hands, when introduced. To his great surprise, however, the Archbishop treated him with coldness and suspicion, and made him, in return, a very frugal present. This conduct, however, was explained by Grocyn, to arise from a suspicion, that the book had been inscribed to other men before, a trick, not uncommon, as he said, among hungry authors. Surprised and hurt at this imputation on his honour, Erasmus, as soon as he returned to Paris, sent his translation to the press, with another from the same tragedian, and dedicated both to the Archbishop. By this step, he not only proved his own sincerity, but secured the favour of his grace, who from this time, loaded him with benefits. From Orleans, Erasmus was accompanied to Italy by the son of

the King of England's chief physician, whose literary ardour made him an agreeable companion. The first place in Italy at which he tarried any length of time, was Turin, where, in September, 1506, he received the degree of Doctor in Theology, an honour to which he had long been looking forward.

From Turin, he proceeded to Bologna, to which place Pope Julius was at that time laying siege. He passed on to Florence, therefore, but returned in time to witness the triumphal entrance of his Holiness into the conquered city. At Bologna he became acquainted with a number of distinguished scholars, particularly with the Greek Professor, Paul Bombasius. In January 1507, he reached Rome, where he was present at the second triumph of the Pope over the conquest of Bologna, which he appears to have regarded with disapprobation and disgust. On his return to Bologna, he acted as tutor to Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a natural son of James IV. of Scotland. At the same time he pursued his own private studies so intensely that he remained in utter ignorance of the Italian language, character, and manners, a circumstance, which sometimes led him into absurd and dangerous situations. One of these adventures is detailed at length, by most of his biographers. The only circumstance attending it, which we shall mention, is its consequence, which was a dispensation from the Pope permitting him to exchange his friar's habit for the dress of a secular priest.

After residing about a twelvemonth at Bologna, he repaired to Venice, for the purpose of putting his *Adagia*, which he had employed himself in enlarging and improving, into the hands of Aldus Manutius, the most celebrated printer of the age. Aldus received and entertained him with the most profound respect, and forthwith put his book to press. When this job was completed, he engaged Erasmus to correct a new edition of Plautus and Terence, for which service he presented him with twenty dollars, a moderate sum certainly

compared with the rewards which are sometimes given, in the present age, for intellectual labour. The merits of Erasmus appear to have been fully estimated by the Venetians. He was allowed the free use of private libraries and valuable MSS., so long as he resided there, and at last could scarcely obtain the consent of his friends to his departure.

His next removal was to Padua, where the young Archbishop was residing, thence with his pupil to Sienna, thence to Rome. In the latter city, he seems to have met with the most flattering reception. John de Medicis, afterwards Leo X., the Cardinal Grimani, and the general of the Augustines, vied with each other in their courteous attentions to the stranger. The Cardinal Grimani, in particular, made him offers, which, if not mere compliments, were certainly extravagant. He urged him to reside in Rome, and share with him a palace, one of the most magnificent in Italy, and a library, inferior in value, only to the Vatican. These and similar proposals, it is probable, would not have been despised, had not circumstances led Erasmus to look forward to an honourable settlement in England. Henry VII. died in April, 1509. His successor was a personal acquaintance, friend, and correspondent of Erasmus. We have already seen, that he was partial to the country, and had more respect for the English literati, than for any others. He knew, too, that freedom of opinion was more tolerated there, than elsewhere, and that the condition of society, and manners of the people, were more favourable to his own independent and capricious temper. Such being his opinions and feelings on the subject, the intelligence of Henry's death excited his attention to the probable effect which it might have on his own condition. In this state of mind, he received communications from Montjoy and other friends, inviting him to England, and promising him great things, in the name of the King, and his patron.

the Archbishop.* These letters appear to have determined him at once. The proposals of the Roman dignitaries were respectfully, but peremptorily, declined, including an offer from his Holiness himself, of a place among his *Penitentiaries*, an honourable post, and one affording easy access to the highest dignities. Leaving Rome, Erasmus passed through Tuscany and Lombardy, across the Alps, and along the Rhine, to Holland, whence, after a short stay, he sailed for England.

What were the actual impressions made upon Erasmus, by his residence beyond the Alps, with respect to Italy and its inhabitants, it is hard to ascertain. His letters from that country are all full of exaggerated eulogy, while in those of a later period, he runs to an opposite extreme. As the former were written in the full tide of his popularity at the Papal court, and the latter, when his reputation as a Catholic was somewhat on the wane, we may safely conclude, that both pictures are considerably over-drawn. For whatever may have been the virtues of his character, it cannot be dissembled, that fearless, frank, sincerity, was never one of them.

On his arrival in England, he took up his abode with his friend Sir Thomas More, for whose amusement he composed his *Praise of Folly*, which was sent to France and printed there, and had such sale, that within a few months, seven editions were exhausted. Notwithstanding its popularity, however, it brought upon its author the displeasure of the Romish clergy, whose iniquities it sacrilegiously exposed. Indeed it is said, that from the date of this publication, he began to be regarded as a heretic.

The high expectations of profit and preferment, with which Erasmus came to England, were, as might have been

* It is a curious fact, that Archbishop Warham backed this invitation by a remittance of five pounds, to defray the expenses of a journey, over land, from Rome to London!

expected, disappointed. In fact, Lord Montjoy, in the letter before mentioned, had given pledges in the name of other men, without authority, presuming on the good will of the King and the Archbishop towards his friend. Erasmus, of course, therefore, found his prospects of aggrandizement and wealth overclouded. He was hospitably entertained, it is true, and provided with a sufficiency for his support. But either from the want of all economy, or his enfeebled health, which multiplied his wants, he was unable to procure himself subsistence. We find him in one of his letters to Dean Colet, suing for fifteen angels as the price of a dedication. He refused a profitable living which was offered to him by Archbishop Warham, professedly from conscientious scruples with regard to sinecures; and yet seems to have wearied the patience of his patrons by his constant importunities.

Our author seems disposed to think, that this discontent with his abode in England, sprang neither from a want of patronage, nor from his own extravagance; but from a restlessness of disposition, which rendered him incapable of strong and permanent attachments. That he was treated with all honour and respect in England, there can be no doubt. His society was courted by the most distinguished men, and his merits talked of, even by the vulgar. At Cambridge he was appointed Professor both of Divinity and Greek, and the lectures which, as such, he occasionally read, were heard with flattering attention and applause. Notwithstanding all this, however, he grew more and more dissatisfied, and multiplied his complaints and importunities, till at last his English friends and he were heartily weary of each other. Such was the position of affairs, when political commotions and the prospect of a war with France, diverted the attention of the King and the nobility from letters altogether, and Erasmus, of course, began to be neglected. This circumstance, together with his gradual decline in

health, increased his desire to leave the country, which is manifested very unequivocally in his letters to the Cardinal Grimani, and other friends at Rome, which at this period contain the most fulsome panegyrics upon Italy, Italian learning, and Italian learned men. His regret at having left that country was increased, too, by the elevation of his friend, the Cardinal de Medicis, to the pontifical office. Such were his feelings, when in 1513, Bishop Fisher was appointed, by the King, to represent England in the Lateran Council. Erasmus instantly resolved to leave England in his suite ; and although the Bishop was not sent, he persevered in his determination, which indeed, was strengthened by an invitation to the court of Charles, Archduke of Austria. After taxing his English friends for money to defray his charges, he accordingly set sail ; and after much distress about the apprehended loss of his baggage, and especially his manuscripts, arrived at Calais.

During his residence in England, besides many smaller pieces, religious discourses, hymns, and prayers, he composed his treatises *de copia verborum ac rerum*, and *de partibus orationis*, elementary books in rhetoric and grammar, intended for the use of a school, established by his friend, Dean Colet. He was chiefly employed, however, in the reading of Greek authors, and in making preparations for his critical edition of the New Testament.

On his return from England, he repaired to Brussels, where he was received with great distinction, and appointed a counsellor of State, with a pension of four hundred florins. The Archduke also gave him a Sicilian bishopric ; but unfortunately, it was afterwards discovered, that the right of presentment belonged to the Pope, and had been exercised in favour of another. This mistake, instead of grieving, seems to have amused Erasmus, who, in his private letters, laughs, as well at the nomination, as the disappointment. The only duty which he seems to have performed as a

counsellor of state, was the composition of a treatise for the benefit of Charles, then fifteen years of age, entitled *Institutio Principis Christiani*. This work proved both beneficial and acceptable to Charles, and his younger brother, Ferdinand, and procured for the author additional honours and rewards.

The chronology of this period of his life is somewhat confused, and differs considerably in the different accounts. We find him, however, in the early part of 1516, at Basle, where he went to have his New Testament printed, by John Froben, the most celebrated printer of the day, excepting Aldus. In the course of the same year, the work was published, with a dedication to the Pope, and met with such success, that a second edition was issued in 1518, and a third in 1522. This will not be thought surprising, when it is considered, that the Greek text had never yet been given to the world; that the revival of classical learning had directed the attention of the learned to the subject; that Erasmus was the most celebrated scholar of his times; and that his edition had the sanction of pontifical authority. The text was accompanied by a Latin version, altogether new, and varying in many cases from the Vulgate, with annotations, which, though ostensibly mere critical remarks upon the text, abound in declamation and invective against scholastic theology and the monks. To his second edition, he prefixed the recommendation of Leo X. under his own hand; an appendage of great service, at a time, when his orthodoxy was suspected, and the church divided into zealous parties. To the third he prefixed a vindication of vernacular translations of the scriptures. His next publication was his paraphrase of the New Testament, of which Melancthon's eulogium is well known. Our author, however, while he admits its elegance, seems to question its utility.

With his brief residence at Basle, Erasmus seems to have been much delighted. With the learned printers, Amerbach

and Froben, and the sons of Ammerbach, who were Hebrew scholars, his time was very pleasantly spent. He also became acquainted with Beatus Rhenanus, Oecolampadius, Berus, and the Bishop of Basle, who used every effort to induce him to remain there.

On his return to Brussels, he was urged to accompany King Charles to Spain, but could not be prevailed upon. Soon after, he received a pressing invitation to reside at Paris, which was communicated to him by Budaeus from Francis I. himself. This offer, though he gave no positive refusal, he did not accept. His roving habits had become so fixed, that he was now unwilling to accept of any offer, which would lay him under obligations to forego the capricious independence which was his delight. From the same motive he declined repeated invitations to reside in different countries, and among the rest, an application from the Duke of Bavaria, who wished to give respectability to his new university at Ingolstadt, by the name and influence of so great a man, and who, with this view, offered him two hundred ducats yearly, without requiring any other service in return, than residence at Ingolstadt. The five years intervening between 1516 and 1521, he appears to have passed in constant motion, sometimes in Flanders, sometimes in England, and seldom many months successively in either. Our author mentions here, the impossibility of tracing the movements of Erasmus accurately, by the dates and contents of his letters; it being notorious, that in his printed correspondence the dates are often falsified, and the epistles mutilated. During the period in question, his external circumstances were more comfortable than at any former time. He mentions incidentally, himself, that he enjoyed a constant income of three hundred ducats, besides the benefactions of his patrons, and occasional supplies from other sources. During the same period, he published his *Querela Pacis*, and began his edition of

the Works of Jerome, which he dedicated to Archbishop Warham.

The last of the three sections, into which the work before us is divided, contains a view of the relations which Erasmus bore to the Reformation. On a subject so familiar as the origin of that great revolution, detail must be unnecessary. Our author has rendered this part of the subject interesting by inserting facts and extracts, which exhibit in a clearer light the sentiments and feelings of Luther and Erasmus towards each other, at an early period. It appears, that the latter took no notice for some time, of the dispute about indulgences, regarding it as nothing more than one of those dissensions, which were constantly arising in the bosom of the church. The Reformer on the contrary, had watched Erasmus, keenly, and with great anxiety, and in his letters had expressed opinions in relation to his character, evincing great sagacity, and fully verified by subsequent events. While he gave him all due praise for classical learning, eloquence, and wit, he appeared to doubt the soundness and firmness of his principles ; and although he coincided with him in opinion, respecting the abuses and corruptions in the church, which Erasmus had exposed, he disapproved in toto of the unbecoming levity with which the latter had described and ridiculed them.

When the dispute with Tetzels grew more serious, and threatened to produce momentous consequences, the attention of Erasmus was attracted to the subject, and he seems to have regarded it with lively interest. Our author here suggests a supposition, which we think affords a satisfactory solution of the fickle and capricious conduct of Erasmus during this eventful period. It is, that he at first imagined Luther to be just such another as himself, a reformer in the same sense, and with the same design ; that is, a zealot in the cause of learning, and an enemy to superstition for the sake of learning. Under this impression, he appears to

have applauded the first movements of the reformation, as a mere continuation of his own proceedings; for it must be owned, that the exposure of the gross abuses which existed in the Romish church, was made in the first instance by Erasmus, though with motives very different from those which subsequently governed the Reformers. When at length he discovered his mistake, and was aware, that Luther acted upon principles and with intentions wholly diverse from his own, and that he was engaged in an enterprize which if unsuccessful, must be ruinous, he instantly drew back. The interests of religion manifestly had no place among his motives, or at least no influence upon his conduct. He acknowledges himself that he, at one time, was opposed to Luther, because he thought his movements were inimical to learning—a sufficient explanation of his whole history. For our own part, we believe, that there is not on record an instance of more deep and exclusive devotion to an object, than that of Erasmus, to the interests of Greek and Roman learning. We need not go back to his early life, for proof of the assertion. All his motions seem to have been regulated by a reference to this ruling passion. Such, indeed, was the intensity with which he clung to his favourite pursuits, that although he changed his residence so often, and enjoyed such opportunities of intercourse with different nations, he actually lived and died in ignorance of the English, French, German, and Italian languages. In fact, if we leave out this circumstance, his history is an enigma, and his character a riddle. It is not surprising, therefore, that when consistency and conscience, came into contact with the god of his idolatry, he chose to sacrifice the former, as he did, when he endeavoured to retract his first opinions, and entered the arena of religious controversy, as the antagonist of Luther. But it was too late. The treatise on free-will which he composed, (in compliance with the wish repeatedly expressed by the Pope, the King of England, and innumera-

ble friends, that he would write against the heretics,) not only drew upon him a tremendous castigation from the hand of Luther, but actually exasperated the resentment and suspicion of those whom it was intended to conciliate. Do what he would, he never could persuade the monks and common people that he was not an accomplice of the reformers. He was denounced from the pulpit and the press, and held up to execration, even in his presence. His early writings could not be forgotten. It grew into a proverb, that Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it, and he had the mortification to hear prayers put up for the conversion of Luther and Erasmus, the persecutors of the church. At the same time the reformed regarded him as a temporizing hypocrite, a very Gallio, who cared not for these things. Rejected, thus, by both parties, he would have sunk into insignificance, but for a reputation independent of religious controversy. For it is a curious fact, that amidst the very heat of this contention, while Luther was heaping him with coarse,^s but just reproach, on one hand, and the Sorbonne were burning his productions on the other, he continued to receive most pressing invitations and attractive offers, from the Emperor, the King of England, and the Pope himself!

In 1521, he had removed to Basle, where he continued to reside, with occasional interruptions, till 1529, when the magistrates and people of that city made a public renunciation of popery. On this event, Erasmus found himself compelled to change his residence; not that he apprehended violent or unkind treatment on the part of the inhabitants, but because he thought that his remaining there would be construed into an adhesion to the new opinions. He accordingly removed to Friburg, where he was received with great distinction—and lodged in a palace built for Maximilian, and once occupied by the Archduke Ferdinand. He had in view, at first, nothing more than a temporary stay, but was so well pleased with the city and the people,

and felt himself so weakened by disease and age, that he bought a house and took up his abode there.

Our author gives detailed accounts of several disputes, in which Erasmus was involved during his residence at Basle, of which we shall only say, that he owed them all to his disingenuous and timid policy of siding with the strongest, and that they all resulted in a partial diminution of his dignity and influence. His principal literary labours during the same period, were, his edition of the works of Hilary, and his celebrated *Colloquies*; afterwards condemned by the Sorbonne and the Inquisition.

At Friburg, he continued to dispute, and write, and publish, as at Basle, without ceasing. His most important publications at this period, were editions of the Fathers and the classics, with introductions, notes, and a correct text. Each of these he inscribed to some distinguished man, and seldom failed to receive a handsome present in exchange. This was, indeed, an honour which the great men of the day prized extravagantly high, as a passport to immortal fame. In the mean time, Erasmus still maintained a correspondence with the crowned heads and learned men of Europe, some of whom testified their friendship in a way more substantial than mere letter-writing. But while thus receiving honour at the hands of Kings, he once more sacrificed his peace and dignity by entering the lists with Luther, in reply to a letter of the latter, printed probably without his knowledge, and containing much severe reproach upon Erasmus. From this affair neither party reaped much honour, and Erasmus certainly deserved none.

In 1535, he yielded to the importunities of his imperial patrons, and agreed to visit Flanders; but first paid a visit to Basle for the purpose of saluting his old friends, and of putting to press, his *Ecclesiastes*, then just finished. He was detained, however in that city, a whole winter, by ill health, after which he never left it. While at Basle, he re-

ceived a letter from Pope Paul III. in answer to an epistle of congratulation, which he had addressed to him on his election. At the same he received intelligence from Rome, that his Holiness designed to offer him a Cardinal's hat, and other ecclesiastical preferments. But although the yearly income of the office was fifteen hundred ducats, independently of other revenues, which would have been bestowed upon him, he declined it, probably from a conviction, that his end was near. The circumstance, however, serves to show, the light in which the court of Rome regarded him, after his disputes with Luther.

In the spring of 1536, he was seized, in addition to his old disorders, with a dysentery, which continued an unusual length of time, and carried him off upon the 12th of July. He retained his gaiety and love of study, to the very last, endured his sufferings with patience, and expired with these words on his lips, "Domine Jesu, miserere mei." He died and was buried, without any Popish ceremony, though a multitude thronged to behold his body. The coffin was carried by students of the University, and followed by the Magistrates, Senate, and Professors, to the Cathedral church, where his monument still stands, and where his ring, seal, pencil, knife, and sword, his portrait, (a master-piece of Holbein,) and his autograph of the New Testament, are still exhibited to strangers. At Rotterdam, his native place, his memory has been perpetuated by statutes, medals, and inscriptions, with as much zeal as at Basle, and in both cities, there are colleges which bear his name. In his will, he constituted Ammerbach his heir; but left many legacies to other friends, and several bequests for charitable purposes. When he died, he was not quite sixty-nine years old.

In the rapid sketch, which we have given, in the foregoing pages, we have attempted nothing more than a succinct view of the subject, in the order adopted by the author of

this work, with a notice of such views and sentiments suggested by him, as appeared entitled to attention from their novelty or force. His extended criticism on the writings of Eranmus we have left untouched, because it can neither be abridged nor analyzed. His views in relation to the moral character and literary merits of Erasmus, we have partially exhibited, although their full development engrosses a large space in the original. On this point we have little more to say, than a reiteration of the fact, that his characteristic quality, was a supreme, exclusive, and unwavering devotion to the cause of literature, to which may be added, the remark of Luther, who appears to have known him better than he knew himself, that Erasmus was quick to detect error, but slow to learn the truth. In drawing a parallel between these celebrated men, our author becomes eloquent, and contrasts with a species of enthusiasm, the heroic consistency of the one, with the time serving policy of the other. He exhibits, indeed, a manifest dislike to the character and conduct of Erasmus, which has freed his work from the excess of extravagant and undue partiality, so common in biography, without, however, warping in the least, his fairness as a critic and historian.

REVIEW.

A Hebrew Chrestomathy, designed as the first volume of a course of Hebrew Study. By Moses Stuart, associate Professor of Sacred Literature, in the Theological Institution at Andover. 1829. pp. 243.

THE publication of Professor Stuart's smaller Hebrew Grammar, of his Chrestomathy, and of Professor Gibb's Manual Lexicon, has placed in the hands of the Hebrew students of our country, a set of books eminently adapted to facilitate their acquisition of a knowledge of the Hebrew language. There is little doubt also, that they will tend to make this study more general, by removing many of the difficulties by which the path of the student of the original language of the Old Testament, has hitherto been beset. This is a result, in which all the friends of truth and of sound theological knowledge will rejoice. It may be considered as one of the favourable characteristics of the present day, that zeal for the study of the original Scriptures, is every where reviving. Still, it may be doubted, whether theological students generally adequately feel their obligation to make this one of the main objects of their attention. There are so many other subjects which appear to have a more immediate bearing on the practical duties of the ministry. and are to most minds, at least in the first instance, more inviting and interesting, that it generally happens, that the sacred languages, and the Scriptures themselves, are made but secondary objects. It may be too, that the importance of intellectual culture generally, in the ministers of the Gos-

pel, is not properly appreciated. There are, doubtless, many theological students who are not sufficiently aware how intimately the interests of religion are connected with the stand assumed by its ministers. This is peculiarly the case in our country. For here, influence is only to be obtained by mental and moral superiority. Among unenlightened nations, the mere fact, that a man is the minister of religion clothes him with moral power over those around him. Here ministers are men, and have little influence which does not arise from their personal character. They have no splendid revenues, nor lordly titles, which in most European countries secure for religion and its officers, the external respect even of the great and the worldly; but are dependent on themselves for their power to do good. Experience proves that where the clergy are ignorant, religion is degraded and in disrepute; but where they have maintained an equality in intellectual improvement, with the best educated portions of society, the respect which the world could not withhold from them has been extended to religion itself. If the interests of religion be thus united to the character of its ministers, the solemn obligations to cultivate to the utmost the talents which God has given him, cannot be denied by any theological student, who properly appreciates the nature of the office which he seeks.

That the objects of his attention should be mainly professional, need scarcely be remarked, and that every department of theological knowledge should receive its due proportion of time and study, will be readily admitted. This we think with respect to the Hebrew, and indeed, the Scriptures generally, is rarely the case. The importance of this branch of theological education is not properly appreciated, and therefore, the sense of duty (which it is to be supposed regulates the conduct of candidates for the sacred office,) does not secure for this subject, the amount of attention it really deserves. That it is a matter of duty, for every

man who seeks to enter the ministry, to qualify himself for the work in the best manner which his circumstances will admit, will not be denied. The only question therefore, is, whether a knowledge of the Hebrew be of such importance, that a man neglects a serious duty, who fails to make this acquisition, when the Providence of God has placed it within his reach. This would seem a question of very easy decision. Are not ministers appointed to explain, enforce, and defend the contents of the sacred volume? Can this be done as well without a knowledge of the languages in which this volume was written, as with it? The neglecters of the Hebrew, if they act conscientiously, must answer this question in the affirmative, and must maintain that the English version is adequate to teach them, all a minister need know of the revelation of God. But the least reflection is sufficient to show that this cannot be the case. No version, from the nature of the case, can in all instances be an exact exhibition of its original; because no two languages exactly correspond. Indeed, beyond some few classes of words, such as the names of natural objects, the essential relations in life, the signs of simple ideas, &c., few words can be discovered which in one language have precisely the same signification with the nearest corresponding term of another. The correspondence is, in the great majority of instances but partial, the one will generally admit of applications foreign to the other. Hence the version will often express more or less than the original, will admit of interpretations which the former cannot bear. Thus we often see men urging arguments founded upon some possible or even common use of the terms of the English version, entirely foreign to the usage of the word or phrase for which it stands in the original. Admitting, therefore, that the translation was the best possible, yet from the nature of language—from the difference between the modifications of thought and feeling in every nation of which their respec-

live languages are the representative, there always will be a great difference between the version and the original. There is always a mind interposed between the reader and his author—the thoughts and feelings of the latter come transmuted and modified to the former, by passing through the process of translation. Homer in the language of Cowper, Pope, and Voss, is by no means the same. The facts of the poems are retained in all, but in each it is mainly with the mind of the translator that the reader has communion.

But a version is not only from the nature of the case inadequate, it is in every instance, more or less faulty. No translation is given by inspiration, and therefore, none is infallibly correct. Of the thousand versions of the Sacred Scriptures, there are no two which exactly agree. Now, shall the minister of the Gospel, place himself under the necessity of taking the meaning of the word of God upon trust? Shall he expose himself to the constant danger of adopting for himself, and of urging on the consciences of others as the truth of God, what may be the mere misapprehensions of fallible translators? Yet this is what is done every day, and in some cases, it may be, to even a fatal extent. Is there no moral obligation then, on the public expounders of the word of God, to make themselves acquainted with that word, and not to take the version either of Protestant or Catholic, as their rule of faith and practice.

But besides the essential inadequacy and frequent inaccuracy of every translation, it may further be urged as a reason for studying the original languages, that the knowledge of them is essential to our being able properly to expound the word of God. There are two great means of ascertaining the meaning of any author. The one is the logical connexion of his thoughts, the other the signification of the individual words and phrases which he employs. With regard to the former, it may be admitted, that it may be applied with much the same success by the reader of a good

version, as by the student of the original. But with the regard to the latter, the case is very different; for it is evident it will avail us little to ascertain even the biblical *usus loquendi*, of a certain word or mode of expression in our English Bible, since these are by no means always employed to answer to one and the same phrase in the original. To understand the sense of the terms used by the sacred writers, we should avail ourselves of the light thrown upon them by their etymology; by their use in the age in which the author wrote, in other parts of the sacred volume, and especially in other passages of the same writer; by tracing the word in its cognate dialects, &c. &c. These are the only proper means of ascertaining its import. It may be said that this process has already been gone through by the translators who have given us the result. But this method of investigation is often as necessary in the work of exposition, as in that of translation. A translation can give us but one of the various senses of which a passage may be susceptible, whether, that be the best supported or not we are entirely unable to judge. And if any young man would shrink from the idea of adopting opinions as to the doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures, for which he is personally responsible, on the authority of another, why adopt on authority the sense of passages of the Sacred Scriptures on which such opinions must ultimately be founded?

As the original Sacred Scriptures are the only standard recognized by all classes of Christians, to them the appeal is made on all matters of controversy. A minister is set for the defence of the truth. For this business he is bound to prepare himself. He ought seriously to consider whether it be consistent with his duty to place himself in circumstances, in which not only his character, but the interests of the truth may be deeply involved, when the point in dispute may at any moment be carried beyond his depth, by a reference to the standard which all parties acknow-

ledge. No objection, or argument is more frequently in the mouths of disputants of all classes, than "this is a wrong translation," "the original properly means, &c." Now, let any man lay it to his conscience whether the sacred cause of truth may not require of its advocates, not to allow themselves to be silenced, by such arguments as these.

As the best exegetical, doctrinal, polemical, and even practical works of a theological character, refer constantly to the original Scriptures, it is evident that ignorance of the sacred languages must debar us from the best sources of theological knowledge. We greatly limit therefore our means of improvement, and consequently of usefulness when we fail to make the acquisition in question.

It is, however, unnecessary to argue this point further, as it is one generally admitted in theory, however, much it may be neglected in practice. The importance of a knowledge of the Hebrew is so obvious, that it is made one of the requisites for admission into the ministry, by almost every denomination of Christians. If this part of our statute-book, should become a dead letter, it will be a reproach and proof of degeneracy, in whatever section of the church it may occur. The requisition was made in the purest period of our ecclesiastical existence, and stands an abiding testimony to the high value which our forefathers set on the true word of God. The reformers felt this subject so deeply, and that some of them considered the very existence of the Protestant church as depending on the continued cultivation of the sacred languages; and Luther declared that he would not part with his knowledge of the Hebrew for all the treasures of the world.

The suggestion may be made, that there are many men eminent for usefulness in the church, who have attended little, if any, to this subject. Such men, however, would humanly speaking, be still more useful had they added familiarity with the Hebrew to their other attainments. Their

views of the meaning of God's word would be still more clear ; their opinions founded upon still more solid evidence, and defended with still greater force. In urging the importance of the Hebrew, it is not maintained, that warmth of piety, strength of intellect and eloquence, are worthless without it. But it is simply asserted, what few will deny, that a man's ability to understand, explain and defend the word of God, is so much increased by this acquisition, that it is a matter of serious duty for every student of the Sacred Scriptures to make it, to whom God has given the opportunity.

We would only further remark, that this is by no means, comparatively, a difficult acquisition. The language itself is easy. The system of the points is, at first view, intricate and repulsive. But there are few young men of ordinary talents, who do not, with any suitable degree of attention, surmount this difficulty after a few months study. When this is once effected, future progress is easy and pleasant. One great objection, has hitherto been the want of books. The Grammars most accessible, have been either so defective as to afford but little assistance, or so large and complicated, as utterly to bewilder the solitary unassisted student. Professor Stuart has done much to remove this difficulty. His shorter Grammar is complete, without being perplexingly minute, and his Hebrew Chrestomathy will still further smooth the path of the student of this sacred tongue.

Works of the nature of that last mentioned, are commonly designed to furnish matter for reading, adapted to the progress of the student, in those cases where books are expensive or difficult of acquisition. And in such cases they are almost essential. How few Arabic students can find access to works adapted to the acquisition of that language. The number, actually in print is comparatively small, and seldom to be met with. Hence, those zealous for the promotion of this branch of literature, have extracted, arranged

and published parts of works, manuscript and printed, in the form of Chrestomathies. With regard to the Hebrew, however, this difficulty does not exist. The Hebrew Bible may be easily procured and must form a part of the library of every one who pretends to study the language. Nor do we think that the mere selecting and arranging passages of gradually increasing difficulty, would compensate for the time and labour it would require. Such a selection, however, is a small part of the work with which Professor Stuart has presented the Hebrew student. It contains in the first place, a list of words designed as examples to assist the student in declining the various classes of verbs and nouns ; then, of short sentences ; thirdly, of select portions of prose ; fourthly, portions of poetry, and fifthly, of several parables occurring in different parts of the Old Testament. The notes are designed to explain every thing which the student would wish to have explained ; and to refer him to those parts of the Grammar where the appropriate information is to be found. The exegetical remarks are short, but to the point. It will be seen at once that this is a very different work from the common Chrestomathies either of the Hebrew, or Arabic, or Syriac. Most of the latter, are either mere selections of matter, or attended with a translation and biographical, historical, and critical remarks, illustrative of the subject much more frequently, than of the language, or its Grammar. Such a work is the excellent Arabic Chrestomathy of De Sacy. Professor Stuart's book is mainly intended to teach the Grammar of the Hebrew language ; and for this purpose it is, if faithfully used, admirably well adapted. We say, if faithfully used, because we should fear that if the student content himself with what he finds stated in the notes, without seeking out, and reading the sections referred to in the Grammar, it would make him slight the work. The only query on the expediency of this mode of instruction which we feel disposed to make, is as to the propriety of telling the

student so much, as to leave little for his own ingenuity or labor to discover. It may be questioned whether the progress of the learner would be so sure and satisfactory, if he had a teacher constantly at his elbow who should answer all the purpose of Lexicon and Grammar, telling him at once every thing about each word as it occurs ; as if left to himself to find out the reason of the peculiarities of form which he might remark ; provided his teacher, in the recitation room, would be careful to see that this had been actually accomplished, and to explain whatever the student had failed to remark, or had not been able to account for. In this way, the point to be explained is brought more definitely before the mind, it remains much longer a subject of thought, and, what is of most importance, in seeking the solution of one difficulty, the principles which apply to other cases are learned or familiarized. We should think, therefore, that it would be safer for the student not to resort to the notes, until he had failed in discovering for himself the solution of every question that occurs. As far as we know, where languages are taught *viva voce* in this manner (i. e. by the teacher explaining every thing,) such instruction is attended by so many exercises, demanding personal investigation on the part of the student, that the oral instruction becomes the least important branch of the system. We have not, however, the least doubt that the work of Professor Stuart will be a very valuable assistant to learners and teachers: all we wish to impress on the mind of the student is, the importance of searching for himself, as much as possible the explanation of every change in the form or pointing of every word. As far as we have had an opportunity of remarking, the great mistake made by most young men in studying Hebrew, is neglecting at the outset the habit of minute and accurate analysis. This work is at first so irksome, the changes of the points appear so arbitrary, that many men of excellent minds refuse to submit to this distasteful drudgery.

The result is, that the foundation is not well laid, the forms of the various classes of words never become familiar ; the student cannot tell where a word is to be found, and consequently cannot determine its proper meaning. Reading Hebrew, when this is the case, cannot become easy or pleasant, and is, therefore, thrown aside as soon as it ceases to be a matter of regular recitation, and all the time and labor bestowed upon it is lost. It very seldom happens that where a student once sets out wrong, that he retraces his steps. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the habit of the strictest accuracy should be formed from the beginning. If it be a duty to learn Hebrew at all, it is a duty to learn it well ; and it is to be wished that theological students would reflect on the waste of time and effort, which is consequent on neglecting the requisite accuracy, in the first stages of their Hebrew studies.

Professor Stuart states in his preface, that if the necessary encouragement be afforded, he intends "to go on with the selection of other appropriate parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, so as to complete a full course of exegetical study in the Hebrew language." We are rejoiced to hear this announcement, and have no doubt that the requisite encouragement will be met with. At the same time we would respectfully suggest, whether he might not employ his valuable time and talents more effectually in promoting the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, by preparing regular commentaries on entire books of the Old Testament. We think that fragmentary reading is not so pleasant nor so useful, as that of entire works. It may be well enough in Greek, where the field is so large, but in the Hebrew we think there is less necessity for such a course. Young men address themselves to this study, not so much for the sake of the language as for the sacred truths which it contains ; and the sooner the direct study of the Sacred Scriptures, with the design of accurately investigating their meaning, can be entered upon,

the sooner will zeal in the search of the truth come to the student's aid in his philological studies. Is it not probable that this zeal will be more effectually excited in the study of entire books, than of detached portions? Let this suggestion pass for what it is worth. We sincerely hope, that the enlightened efforts of Professor Stuart, to revive the study of the original Sacred Scriptures will meet with success, beyond his most sanguine expectation. He is engaged in a cause worthy of all his zeal and talents ; and it may be questioned whether any individual could render a greater service to the American churches, than he is doing in turning the attention of their youth to the accurate study of the word of God in their original languages. We know that many persons are accustomed to point to Germany as a warning against the zealous cultivation of this department of theological knowledge. But we would ask, did not infidelity triumph in France, where the original Scriptures were almost entirely neglected, as completely as Rationalism has done in Germany? The causes which have produced the late defection from the truth, in the latter country, are in a great measure foreign from the critical study of the Scriptures. And the reformation, which is now going on in that section of the church, is mainly to be ascribed to this study. This is almost the only way in which the truth is brought to operate on the minds of the learned portion of society. It is seldom they come under the influence of preaching, even when students of theology. They either rarely frequent places of worship, or if they do, they hear little of the Gospel. Were it not, therefore, that they are required to study the word of God for themselves, they would, to a great extent, live beyond the power of its truths. At an earlier period in the history of that church, when vital piety had become almost as rare as it is at present, the exegetical study of the Scriptures had sunk into neglect. The first effort of the Spener and Franke, who were laboring to revive the spirit of reli-

gion throughout the churches, was to revive this study. They placed the greatest confidence in the salutary effects which it would produce, and they were not disappointed. It is true, that where irreligious men turn their attention to the study of Theology, and become its teachers, no matter what particular branch they may select, evil must result ; but the evil lies not in the subject of study, but in such men finding access to the ministry, and the seats of theological learning. The truth need not fear the word of God. Let the spirit of piety be maintained, and the Bible cannot be studied either too accurately or too extensively.

The ordinance of the Trustees of the Theological Seminary at Andover, by which, in future, students are required to pass an examination on the Hebrew, previously to entering the Seminary, will have a tendency to introduce this study into the New-England colleges. This will be a valuable point gained. It would be difficult to name any valid argument why Greek should be a part of a regular classical education which would not apply with equal force to the Hebrew. It furnishes the same exercise of mind, it presents, to say the least, as much matter for the cultivation of the taste, and what is of far more importance, the moral influence of the truths embodied in this language is salutary, while that of the contents of classics is decidedly the reverse. Erasmus has some where said that the man who constantly reads the works of the heathen, will be a heathen. And if there were no tendency in such works to leave their impress upon the mind, there would be little use in studying them. In our zeal for the refinement and cultivation of the intellectual powers of the young, we have too much lost sight of the baneful tendency on moral feeling of the works in question. It is altogether impossible that a mind, expanded and moulded under the influence of Horace and Lucian, should be in the healthful state, of one formed by the spirit of David and Isaiah. Who would not prefer to have a son

imbued with the spirit of the sacred writings, than with that of the purest and loftiest models of heathen antiquity? It is certainly little to the honour of the Christian world, that while among Mohamedans, whatever language they may speak, or however rich the literature that language may contain, their youth are educated by their sacred writings, we place our Scriptures on the shelf and commit our youth to be formed by heathen minds. That the study of Latin and Greek is an excellent means of intellectual improvement; and that they are absolutely essential to professional men, may be good reasons why they should not be neglected, but they are no reasons why we should either shut our eyes on the evils attending them, or throw our equally improving sacred writings, entirely out of use, in a course of liberal education. It would, therefore be a matter of rejoicing, to see the Hebrew language a subject of regular instruction in our colleges; and we hope that the time may one day come, when it will not be considered beneath the dignity even of the general scholar, to make himself acquainted with the language of the ancient prophets of God.

JAHN'S HEBREW COMMONWEALTH.

JAHN'S *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*; translated from the German, by CALVIN E. STOWE, A. M. of the Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover. 8vo. pp. 692. 1828.

WE have long thought a good history of the Old Testament one of the greatest *desiderata* in theological literature. All the works relating to this subject, which, heretofore, have come to our knowledge, appear to us to be essentially defective. Dr. SHUCKFORD'S "Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected," is no doubt, the work of a learned man, and entitled to considerable praise: but it is heavy and disproportioned, manifesting little judgment and less taste; and by no means fitted to throw a strong and satisfactory light on those earlier parts of the sacred history which it is designed to elucidate. It was the intention of this writer to fill up the whole space from the Creation to the time at which Dr. *Prideaux* commenced his elaborate and useful work. But he followed his predecessor *haud passibus æquis*, and did not live to execute his plan, even as well as he might have done.

On Dr. PRIDEAUX'S work higher commendation may be bestowed. It is an invaluable monument of learned labor; comprehensive in its plan, rich in matter, and minutely instructive, in all cases in which the author had materials for making it so. It would be difficult to mention a work of greater value in these respects. But Dr. *Prideaux* is a dull writer; he is, in many cases, unnecessarily and unrea-

sonably tedious ; and in a great measure destitute of the art of beguiling the labor of study by the charms of either spirited narrative, or masterly diction. Hence his work, however solid, can never be a favourite with the mass of youthful readers ;—not even with theological students.

STACKHOUSE'S "History of the Bible" is a learned and instructive work ; but complex and ill judged in its structure ; abounding in matter which might very well have been spared ; and, in some of its positions and defences of truth, so injudicious, that even his *sincerity* has been sometimes questioned. The truth is, *Stackhouse* was a bookmaker by profession. No wonder, then, that he often wrote in haste, and took more care to multiply volumes, than to digest their contents in the best manner.

The chasm left between *Shuckford* and *Prideaux*, in consequence of the premature decease of the former, has been well filled by several writers since their time, and perhaps by none more satisfactorily than the learned *Arthur Bedford*, in a part of his "Scripture Chronology." Still the trouble and expense incurred by the student, in being obliged to resort to a third writer, in order to complete his course through the Old Testament, amounts to no small inconvenience, and has long rendered some new and more finished work desirable.

Among the single and complete works on the Old Testament, which former times have produced, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti*, of JOHN FRANCIS BUDÆUS, in two volumes, quarto, is, in our opinion, by far the best. Judgment, learning, comprehensiveness, and lucid order, characterize it throughout. If it were as rich and finished in profane history. as that of *Prideaux*, and some others, it would scarcely leave any thing to be desired. But here lies its main defect. To which may be added, that since the time of *Buddæus*, such large and very rich additions have been made to every department of Biblical knowledge,

that materials for a more satisfactory work are abundant and easily accessible. Besides all this, the work is scarce, and can never be procured with sufficient ease to be made a class-book, in a large institution; and to crown all, it is in a language which even some theological students do not read with entire familiarity.

When we have fancied to our own minds such a work as we should like to see on this subject, we have sketched the character of it thus—Let it be substantially on the plan of *Buddæus*, with, however, more *text*, and less extended *annotations*. Let it contain all that his work contains, with a more ample collateral exhibition of profane history. Let it take up, and discuss all the principal difficulties and questions which occur, in reference to every portion of the Old Testament history; giving, in a dense and clear manner, the most valuable opinions, of different writers, on every point; and closing with the author's own, with a suggestion of the principal reasons in its support. Let the *Creation*; the *Paradisiacal State*; the *fall* of man; the *Deluge*; the rise of *Idolatry*; the origin of *language*, and *alphabetical writing*; the *dispersion* of mankind; the origin of *Sacrifices*; the *Abrahamic Covenant*; the institution of *Circumcision*; the departure out of *Egypt*; the *Miracles* of the *Magicians*; the passage of the *Red Sea*, and through the *wilderness*; the introduction of the *Ceremonial economy*; the *Theocracy*; and a multitude of other points, which will immediately occur to a student of the Bible, all pass in review, and each receive that brief, condensed, lucid discussion, which its relative importance demands. And to every chapter and section let a distinct reference be subjoined, to the best authors, ancient and modern, who have treated of the several points, respectively, which may come under review.

Such a work would be an interesting present to thousands; but to theological students, it would be a treasure of

inestimable value. What a *Gnomon* is to a *dial*, a well executed history on this plan would be in the liberal pursuit of Old Testament studies. At the same time, it cannot be disguised, that it would be extremely difficult of execution. To do it well, would put in requisition the very best talents and erudition in any country, for a number of years. In a comparatively short time, indeed, a judicious well informed divine might prepare a work in some measure on the plan proposed, if he would consent to swell it into seven or eight octavo volumes: for there can be no doubt, that, *cæteris paribus*, the *longer* the work, the greater the *ease* with which it might be executed. But to comprise it in two, or at most three volumes of convenient size, beyond which no one ought to think of extending it,—would require a power of arrangement, of digestion, and of comprehension, as uncommon as it is enviable. For our part, such is our impression of the arduousness of the task, that we do not expect very soon to see a work corresponding with the model which we have imagined, and attempted to describe.

From our knowledge of some of the other publications of *Jahn*, we expected to find in his "*History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*," what we *have* found—a learned and valuable work, sustaining his former reputation, and well worthy the attention of general readers, especially of theological students. He has given a succinct, but compact, lucid, and critically arranged history of the Hebrews, from their first rise in *Abraham*, down to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. To this *Harmony* of the various accounts given of persons and events, in the different books of the Old Testament, the author has added a brief account of the various nations connected with them. So that his work is, like that of his English predecessors, but with far more brevity, clearness and taste, an exhibition of "Sacred and Profane History Connected." We know of no single work, in our language,

which goes over this ground in a manner at once so spirited, luminous, orderly and comprehensive. While it certainly may be read with great advantage by all classes of readers; it is peculiarly worthy of the attention of those whose duty it is to make themselves critically acquainted with every part of the contents of the Bible.

But while we bestow this high and unequivocal praise on the volume before us; while we feel indebted to the author for the learned labor which he has devoted to its compilation; and while we feel grateful to Professor *Stuart* for encouraging its translation, and to Mr. *Stowe* for the very creditable manner in which he has executed his task, in giving it an English dress: we are still constrained to say, that the work by no means comes up to our ideas of what such a work might be, or ought to be; and that, although we rejoice in its publication, we are far from thinking all need of further effort in the same field, superseded.

Professor *Jahn* has prefixed to his plan of the "Hebrew Commonwealth," a short statement of the progress of things from the creation to the rise of the Hebrews, as a distinct people. We regret that this statement is so *very* short. It is all comprised in eight pages. A little more time and space might have been profitably bestowed upon this important preliminary to his main subject. It is true, even in these few pages, he manifests much thought and reading; but, surely, such subjects as the creation of the world and of man; the primitive state of man; his fall; the character of the antediluvian period; the deluge; the covenant with *Noah*; the building of *Babel*; the confusion of languages; and the dispersion of mankind—might have been expected to engage a larger share of attention and discussion than the learned Professor has thought proper to bestow upon them. For although these several topics do not fall, strictly, within the scope of the "History of the Hebrew Commonwealth;" they are so deeply interesting, so essentially interwoven

with the early history of the human race, and so closely connected with the rise of the Hebrew nation, as exhibiting the fortunes of their progenitors, that, in fixing on the relative proportions of such a work, we should never have thought of passing over them as our author has done.

The second section of chapter 1st, entitled "Civil Society before the Flood," despatches the history of human affairs, during 1656 years, in a single page, as follows:—

CIVIL SOCIETY BEFORE THE FLOOD.

"In the fragments of Antedeluvian history preserved by Moses, there is nothing explicit respecting civil societies. If there was any authentic information on this subject extant in his time, it did not appertain to the book of Genesis, which was designed merely as an introduction to the history of the Mosaic legislation. As such, it preserves a knowledge of the Creator, gives a general view of the conduct of men, and a more particular account of the ancestors of the Hebrews, from the creation of the world to the origin of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

"The first man undoubtedly kept his children and other descendants about him as long as possible, and exercised parental authority over them. Cain was the first who separated from his father's society, and he was impelled to this step through fear of punishment for the murder of his brother. In the course of time, various motives, such as a desire to obtain land for cultivation or pasturage for cattle, might induce others to follow his example. Thus, there arose separate families which were governed by their own patriarchs. This is the state of nature, that *Golden Age*, which the prophets and poets of later times have painted in the liveliest colours, and exhibited as a picture of perfect happiness.*

"When families had increased to tribes and nations, then without doubt, civil societies began. Even at this early period we find that men were engaged in agriculture and in the improvement of the arts; that the laws of marriage, the rights of private property, and the public institutions of religion were recognized and observed.† These

* Isa. ii. 4. xi. 6—9; lxxv. 17—25. Joel iii. 18. Micah iv. 1—5. Ovid. Metam. l. 89. Virgil. Ecl. IV.

† Gen. ii. 15: iv. 2, 3, 17—22: v. 20.

societies, however, during the ten generations enumerated in the fifth chapter of Genesis, were very imperfect; for those lawless deeds of violence which arose from profligacy and impiety, prove but too clearly, that the power of the strong then generally passed for right.* Those famous heroes of great stature, the giants of the old world, who are mentioned as the authors of these crimes, were either powerful chiefs, who engaged in open wars, or perhaps more wandering thieves who with their lawless bands every where plundered and murdered the defenceless. The prevailing form of government during this period was probably the patriarchal; though the patriarchs were either unable to restrain and bring to punishment stronghanded transgressors, or swayed by the ties of relationship, and in some cases, perhaps, by a participation in the spoil, they were unwilling to exert their authority for this purpose."

From this extract, it will be seen that the learned author did not think proper to take any notice whatever of the event which we denominate the *fall* of man. Perhaps he did not believe in the reality of such an event. But we were particularly struck with a sentence which occurs at the end of the second paragraph of the above extract, relating to the period sometimes denominated the "*Golden Age*." We have always supposed that the only "*Golden Age*" of the Bible and of the Christian, was the period, whether long or short, of paradisiacal innocence. But Dr. *Jahn* seems to refer it to the period which followed the murder of *Abel*, and the consequent departure of *Cain* from "the presence of the Lord." And for this view of the subject, he refers to the Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Joel*, and *Micah*, and to the heathen poets, *Ovid* and *Virgil*. We have always supposed that *Isaiah*, and his companions in the prophetic office, in the passages referred to, had an eye to an entirely different affair; and with respect to the heathen poets, we cannot, for a moment, hesitate to believe that the basis of all that they and others have said or sung of the "*Golden Age*," is

* Gen. vi. 4, 11, 13, comp. ix. 3—6. Gen. iv. 26, comp. vi. 2.

the tradition, from the progenitors of our race, of their *primitive state*, in Eden, in which all was health and order, and purity, and unmingled bliss ; but which, alas ! “ like the morning cloud, and the early dew,” soon passed away.

We infer from the whole aspect of Professor *Jahn's* representation of the early part of the history of the human race, that he considered the primitive state of man to be a state of intellectual and moral infancy, from which he arose very gradually, and by the exercise of his own powers. To this source, as it would appear, that is, to the gradual development of man's faculties by his own efforts, he ascribes the attainment of language, and all the arts and comforts of life. We have no doubt that this view of the subject is radically erroneous. To us it appears quite clear, that the original state of man was his most perfect state ; that his Maker formed him a social being ; that society is, therefore, strictly speaking, a Divine institution, of which the first man was taught the use and enjoyment ; that as soon as God made man, he began to speak to him, of course, to instruct him in the use of language as a vehicle of thought ; and also that a knowledge of the more necessary and important arts of life was probably imparted in the same manner. It is hardly necessary to add, that whichever of these theories the historian may adopt, will give a corresponding colouring to his representation of the progress of human affairs, in a thousand cases. The theory which we prefer, is, in our view, not only most rational, and most agreeable to the whole current of the history of our race ; but the only one that can be reconciled with the inspired records.

Those who take a deep interest in the great events recorded in the Old Testament, and especially those who are eagerly seeking for new light with respect to a number of points concerning which there appears to be room for diversity of opinion, will naturally expect to find much new and important instruction in the pages of Professor *Jahn*. In this.

however, they will be disappointed. On such points as the rise of idolatry; the first and subsequent forms of it; the Abrahamic covenant; the origin of that singular rite by which this covenant was sealed; the wonders performed by the magicians in *Egypt*; the difficulties attending the duration of the government of Judges; and a number of others, which have called forth the display of much good learning; the curious reader will find scarcely a satisfactory hint, and no new light whatever. We cannot call to mind a single instance in which a strong original view is taken of any one subject. The author's narratives are certainly clear, lively, comprehensive, and frequently in manner somewhat striking; but remarkably commonplace, and such as will not afford the reader, who is even tolerably familiar with the matters treated of, a new thought for many pages together. If it had been his aim to avoid committing himself on important and difficult questions, and to pass over knotty points without appearing to recognise their existence, he could scarcely have taken a more direct method to attain his object. We think, in a word, that Professor *Jahn's* work on the "Hebrew Commonwealth" will often and long be read by tyros, as, on the whole, an able compend, but that it will never be quoted by any subsequent writer, as a luminous guide to direct the curious and critical inquirer in his course.

The following extract from chapter IV. section 33. pp. 99, 100, and 101; entitled "*The reign of Solomon*," may be considered as a fair specimen of Dr. *Jahn's* manner of treating the most interesting parts of the Biblical history.

REIGN OF SOLOMON.

"In the year 1015 B. C. David, about six months before his death, surrendered the government to his son Solomon, after a reign of forty years and a half. Solomon was at that time about eighteen years old, and consequently he was neither the first-born, nor the eldest prince:

but he was appointed to the throne by the direction of Jehovah. Adonijah, the oldest prince, made an attempt to seize the sceptre; but his design was seasonably frustrated, and Solomon confirmed himself in the government during the life of his father. The last charges which the dying monarch gave to his successor, are mentioned in the Scriptures as commendable; and let men judge of them as they please, they are neither revengeful nor unjust, but strictly conformable to the divine precepts. According to the law, criminals were to be punished for the purpose of deterring others from the commission of similar crimes; and it was with this view merely that David gave those directions, the execution of which he left entirely to the discretion of his successor.

“The kingdom under David had been very much extended and brought under good regulations. The arms of the Hebrews were feared by all the neighbouring people, and consequently the reign of Solomon was peaceable. Now the predominant tribe of Judah *lay as a lion, and as a lioness*, which no nation ventured to rouse up. The Hebrews were the ruling people, and their empire, the principal monarchy in Western Asia. From the Mediterranean Sea and the Phœnicians to the Euphrates, from the river of Egypt and the Elantic gulf to Berytus, Hamath and Thapsacus, and towards the east to the Hagarènes on the Persian gulf; all were subject to the sway of Solomon. The Canaanites, indeed, had been neither annihilated nor expelled, but they were obedient and quiet subjects. Their whole number might amount to between 400,000 and 500,000; since 153,000 were able to render soccage to the king. The warlike and civilized Philistines, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites, the Nomadic Arabians of the desert, and the Syrians of Damascus were all tributary to him. Peace gave to all his subjects prosperity, the trade which he introduced brought wealth into the country, and promoted the arts and sciences; which found an active protector in the king, who was himself one of the most distinguished of the learned men. The building of the temple, and of several palaces, introduced foreign artists by whom the Hebrews were instructed. Many foreigners, and even sovereign princes, were attracted to Jerusalem in order to see and converse with the prosperous, royal sage. The regular progress of all businesss, the arrangements for security from foreign and domestic enemies, the army, the cavalry, the armories, the chariots, the palaces, the royal household, the good order in the administration of the affairs of the empire, and in the service of the court, excited as much admiration as the wisdom and learning of the viceroy of Jehovah. So much had

been effected by the single influence of David, because he scrupulously conformed himself to the theocracy of the Hebrew state.

“But in the midst of all this splendour, Solomon fell short of the virtues of his father. At first, indeed, while the example of David and the instructions of his preceptor Nathan, were yet fresh in his mind, he showed himself as faithful to the theocracy as his father, and wished for nothing more than wisdom and understanding, that he might govern his subjects well. The severity with which he treated Joab and Adonijah, is not to be blamed: for they were seditious men who would otherwise have instigated a civil war. Also the removal of the high priest Abiathar, (by which a prophecy was fulfilled,) was not a violation of the law, for the law did not determine by what power the high priest should be appointed. While there was no statute on the subject, it was a matter of policy that the nomination of so important and influential an officer should be retained in the crown. The people willingly offered their service for the building of the temple, and did not esteem it a burden. The administration of justice was also faithfully attended to.

“Notwithstanding all this, Solomon, after the example of other oriental monarchs, governed in rather an arbitrary manner. His numerous harem, which consisted of one thousand females, was an express violation of the law of Moses. The introduction of a body of cavalry, which amounted to twelve thousand men, might perhaps be excusable in an empire so extensive; and in this view it may be considered as not counteracting the law of Moses, which forbids the multiplication of horses. But the increase of the imposts to defray the expenses of the royal household, which in the East are always great, and in Solomon's court were extravagant, were burdens such as had been predicted; and which the Hebrews after the death of Solomon wished to have diminished. Even the decision respecting the two prostitutes, which called forth so many eulogies on the king's knowledge of mankind, betrays a leaning towards that arbitrary exercise of the royal power which is so common among the eastern despots. Solomon, as he grew older continually receded farther from the law of Moses, which every king of the Hebrews was bound to obey. That he as well as David, should tolerate idolatry in the foreign countries, they had conquered, was not a violation of the law, which was enjoined on the Hebrews only; but that he should allow the idolatry of his wives in his own dominions, and even in his own capital; that he should build temples to the gods, if he did not himself offer them sacrifices; this was a breach of the fundamental law of the Hebrew state; it was a seduc-

ing of the Hebrews to idolatry ; it was encouraging them to rebel against Jehovah their king. On this account the prosperity of Solomon was interrupted by disquiets in Idumea and Syria, and it was foretold to him that only one tribe, (Judah and Benjamin, mentioned as one because the capital Jerusalem was situated on the borders of each,) should remain to his heirs. The dominion over the other ten tribes was promised to Jeroboam by Ahijah the prophet. Solomon died in the year 975 B. C. ; and notwithstanding his glory was but little lamented."

Here, several of the most remarkable features in the character and history of this distinguished Hebrew king, are either passed over in entire silence, or mentioned so cursorily as to leave the portrait comparatively indistinct. His pre-*éminent wisdom* ; the reason why he, and not his father *David*, was selected by Jehovah to build a *Temple* to his name ; the erection of that far-famed and unparalleled edifice ; the nature and circumstances of his defection from duty ; the reason we have to believe that he afterwards repented, and returned to a sense of duty—are none of them made to stand forth with that prominence which the sacred history gives to them ; and some of them are wholly unnoticed. -

In other cases our author is more happy, as well as more instructive. The 163d section of chapter XV. entitled, "*Survey of the Theocracy*," is a comprehensive and well-executed sketch.

SURVEY OF THE THEOCRACY.

"The attentive reader of the preceding history, who has preserved the thread of the narration unbroken in his own mind, and can comprehend at one view the principal subjects embraced in it, cannot fail to perceive a connected plan running through the whole. This plan commences with the call of Abraham, is sustained by the Theocracy of the Hebrew state introduced by Moses, is gradually developed by subsequent occurrences, and finally brought to perfection by Jesus Christ and his apostles. It is a plan which men could never have

devised, nor have prosecuted without interruption through so many ages, nor have finally executed in so remarkable a manner, with such important results, and to so great an extent.

“Abraham received the promise of a numerous posterity, who were to possess the land of Canaan and preserve the true religion in the world; Gen. xii. 1—4: xv. 1—21: xxii. 16—18: and xviii. 17—22, compare xvii. 4—14: and by means of these descendants, or *the seed* of Abraham, all nations who were then almost entirely given up to idolatry, were to be blessed, or, to esteem themselves happy. This benediction, or blessing, according to Gen. xvii. 4—14, and xviii. 16—22, must have had principal reference to the propagation of the true religion, which the posterity of Abraham were to preserve, but which was at that time mostly, and soon after, entirely lost among the other nations of the earth. The prophets of later times, whenever they have predicted the spread of true religion among the heathen, have understood the promise given to Abraham, in this sense. But the words of the promise are susceptible of a more extensive meaning; and, as was shown by the result, they really did refer to something more than the mere propagation of religion. Gal. iii. 16. This promise was transferred to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 1—4; and by him, to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 12—13; and Jacob pronounced the same benediction principally on the tribe of Judah, Gen. xlix. 8—10, to which he had given a part of the privileges of primogeniture; so certain was he of the complete fulfilment of the promise, though the posterity of Abraham had increased to only seventy souls in two hundred and fifteen years, and though he had himself forsaken the promised land.

“This little tribe of the descendants of Abraham, however, during their residence of four hundred and thirty years in Egypt, increased to two millions and a half; and thus this part of the promise was accomplished, while the other part, respecting the preservation of religion, was in some degree counteracted; for the Israelites had for the most part become deeply infected with the Egyptian idolatry, and they would have become entirely idolatrous, had not God interposed to prevent it. They, indeed, always cherished a hope of settling, at some future time, in the promised land of Canaan; but, to judge from their subsequent conduct in Arabia Petrea, they would never have had the desire nor the courage to leave the fruitful land of Egypt, had they not been oppressed by the murderous edict respecting their male children and by the services which they were compelled to render to the king. Thus, even this oppression which the Egyptians designed as a means of retaining them in the country, was that which first excited

in them a desire to withdraw from Egypt, and which at last actually gave occasion to their departure.

“The miracles which were wrought both before and after their departure from Egypt, and the establishment of their theocratic constitution, were very appropriate, and indeed, necessary means of confirming their already wavering religious principles and of securing them for the future. We have seen in the preceding history, how well these means answered their purpose during the four hundred and fifty years under the Judges, the one hundred and twenty years under Saul, David, and Solomon, the two hundred and fifty-three years under the kings of Israel, and the three hundred and eighty years under the kings of Judah; for, during all these periods, the nation was always treated according to the sanctions of the Theocracy, and God himself frequently interposed by means of his ministers. An eternal kingdom and an everduring throne were promised to king David, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16. 1 Chr. xvii. 11—14; and in Ps. lxxxix. 27—38, this promise is explained by the assertion that the throne of David should stand as long as the sun and moon should endure in the heavens. Accordingly, the family of David was always preserved, though it was three times, (namely, under Jehoram, Athaliah, and Hezekiah,) in the utmost danger of extinction. Therefore the prophets, even in those times when the kingdom of Judah was overthrown and the posterity of David degraded and obscured, were always looking for some great descendant of that king, to whom even the heathen would submit; a hope which was derived from the blessing pronounced on Abraham. See Isa. ii. 2—4: xi. 1—12: 6. xlix.—lv. lx. 18—20: lxxv. 1—66: 24. Amos ix. 11. Mic. iv. 1—7: vii. 20. Hos. iii. 4, 5. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—31. Compare Zech. ix. 9, 10. Mal. iii. 1, 2: iv. 2—6. Compare Ps. cx. 1: lxxxix. 26, 35—40. Gen. xv. 8—22.

“After the captivity, the family of David sunk still lower, as was necessarily the case, since the promised son of David was not to appear as a temporal prince. But the theocracy did not cease during this period. We have already observed how it was manifested during the captivity, and after the captivity to the time of Malachi, 410 B. C. The promise given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, respecting the possession of the land of Canaan, was fulfilled according to the condition prescribed in the theocratic constitution; and exactly as those conditions were, subsequently, more accurately defined by Moses, Deut. xxviii. xxx. 1—5, and by the later prophets. Even the duration of the Chaldee-Babylonian dominion did not exceed the predicted period of seventy years. After the captivity, the prophets

Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, made the necessary disclosures for the future; and, as these prophecies were continually fulfilling, by the building of the temple, by the victories of Alexander, by the Greek kings of Syria and Egypt, particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees; and later, by Jesus Christ, and the last war with the Romans, (which Christ himself more clearly and definitely foretold, Matt. xxiv.)—so, the divine government over the nation was continued without interruption.

“It may at first appear unaccountable, that God, during the last four hundred years from Malachi to Christ, never interposed in a supernatural manner for his people, not even in the times of the Maccabees, when men of the highest rank, and priests and high priests, did all in their power to abolish the worship of the true God and introduce heathenism. But what we have remarked above, respecting the constant fulfilment of prophecies during this period, is sufficient to prove the uninterrupted continuance of the Theocracy; not to mention, that even in more ancient times, there are long periods, in which we find nothing of supernatural intervention, and the people appear to have been left to themselves; as, for example, the four hundred and thirty years in Egypt, and the four hundred and fifty years under the Judges, during which later period, supernatural interposition was very unfrequent, as is remarked in 1 Sam. iii. 1. The divine government of the Hebrews always proceeded in the ordinary course of providence, so long as that was sufficient for the preservation of religion; and it was only when natural means failed to effect this purpose, that supernatural methods were employed. But the history in the Books of Maccabees shows, that religion could then be maintained without the miraculous intervention of God, and consequently, that supernatural aid was unnecessary, and would have been superfluous. The fulfilment of the ancient prophecies respecting the Babylonian captivity, the return to Palestine, and the building of the city of Jerusalem and the temple, had so confirmed the Hebrews in their religion, that without any new miracles, they were ready to die as martyrs for its sake. Still even during this period, the footsteps of divine providence, especially in some very dangerous conjunctures, are too plainly marked to be mistaken.

The absence of supernatural occurrences, therefore, during this period, is not to be explained on the supposition, that the Hebrews had then become wiser and more intelligent; and consequently, that those events which were anciently regarded as the supernatural

exertions of divine power, were now known and acknowledged to be natural.

“Such a supposed wisdom and intelligence was not to be found at this period among the boasted sages of Greece and Rome; they were then even far more eager after miracles and predictions than the Hebrews had ever been in the earliest periods of their history. In all unusual occurrences they saw prodigies and omens; and they pretended to immediate revelations, which they carefully distinguished from the explanation of signs. Whence, then, had the Hebrews this wisdom and intelligence, so far superior to the knowledge of all the other nations of the earth? On the contrary we know from Josephus and the New Testament, that the Jews, in the time of Christ and his apostles, were still too much inclined to expect supernatural events; for, after all the miracles which Christ had wrought before their eyes, they were always requiring of him some new sign. Matt. xii. 38, 39: xvi. 1—4. Mark viii. 11, 12. Luke xi. 16, 29. John iv. 48: vi. 30. Finally, the supposition in question is refuted by the fact, that in the founding of the perfect kingdom of God by Jesus and the apostles, miracles and prophecies were again found necessary, as they had been in ancient times; and that after the establishment of the Church, they again ceased.

“But when the promise given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: *“By thy seed shall all nations be blessed, or, esteem themselves happy,”* had been fulfilled by Christ; the power of God, his miraculous co-operation, appeared only in the disciples of our Saviour, and afterwards, the perfect kingdom of God was promoted by the ordinary course of divine providence. As soon as this kingdom was established among the Jews and Gentiles, during the first generation after the ascension of Jesus, the Theocracy of the Jews who remained in unbelief, was left to its decline; a decline which, according to the predictions in Mal. iii. 1—5: iv. 1—5. Dan. ix. 24, 27; and Matt. xxiv, was applicable only to the old Theocracy. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, the unbelieving people, in the course of seventeen hundred and fifty years, have been scattered over all the earth, and have every where suffered the most cruel persecutions, oppressions, insults, and every species of distress, without any manifestation of the Theocracy for their relief, without any supernatural aid, without a miracle or prophecy. The people, however, are constantly preserved by divine providence in all their distresses; millions have perished by the sword since their revolt from the Romans, and we

may say, millions have become Christians, Mohammedans, and pagans; still the people remain and increase, and according to the prophecies, Deut. iv. 31: xxx. 1—5. Jer. xxiii. 1—8: xxxi. 35—37: xlv. 28. they will continue to exist till the period arrives of which the apostle Paul speaks, Rom. xi. 25—28, and which some of the ancient prophets appear to have anticipated."

With respect to the *chronology* adopted by the learned Professor, we have nothing particular to say. It is a perplexing and difficult subject. And it is evident, from various passages, that he felt it to be so, and was not always entirely confident himself of the soundness of his conclusions. On a number of points connected with this department of his subject, he differs from those with whom we have been most accustomed to concur; yet we are far from being sure, that he is wrong. We should have been better satisfied, however, if in a few instances, he had been more particular in stating the reasons on the ground of which he decided. The *ipse dixit* of such a man is weighty; but, in the republic of Science and Literature, we surly Americans would rather bow to argument than authority.

With regard to the Appendix translated from *Basnage*, we cannot refrain from saying, on the whole, that we wish it had been entirely omitted. It adds considerably to the size and price of the volume, without furnishing, in our judgment, a corresponding amount of solid information. The author of the *Histoire des Juifs* is well characterized by Professor *Stuart* in his preface. He certainly was a learned, and, in many respects an able man. But judgment in the choice and concoction of his materials can by no means be ascribed to him. We think that Mr. *Stowe* himself, or even an inferiour man, might have compiled a sketch, in less than half the compass of the translation from *Basnage*, far more in keeping with *Jahn's* work, and much better adapted to give authentic and useful information to theological students.

We close our remarks on this useful publication by observing, that, while we commend the literary zeal, diligence and ability of Mr. *Stowe* in preparing it for the press; and while we sincerely wish the enterprizing booksellers who patronized the undertaking, may be remunerated by a ready and extensive sale; we, nevertheless, think that *better things* ought to be expected and attempted in the department to which the volume before us belongs; and attempted we will add, if no where else, on this side of the *Atlantic*. We are indebted to the Seminary at *Andover* for many valuable presents in reference to Biblical Literature. We should be truly gratified to welcome another from the same quarter, on this great field of sacred labour. We cannot forbear to express a hope that some gentleman there, with all the nerve and elasticity of youthful movement, will, before long set about it. Let him not, however, think of issuing his *Prospectus* for publication in eighteen months, or even two years after sitting down to the job. Let him calculate patiently to devote to it the leisure hours of twelve or fourteen years. Let him avail himself freely, but with much thought and discrimination, of the labours of *Heidiger*, *Usher*, *Buddæus*, *Spencer*, *Basnage*, *Selden*, *Vitringa*, *Shuckford*, *Prideaux*, *Bedford*, *Hales*, and some score of other folios and quartos, rich in materials of different qualities. Let him explore the pages of *Saurin's* "*Discours Historiques, Critiques, Theologiques, &c.*," which, we believe, have never been translated into English. Let him carefully consult *Allix*, and Father *Simon*, and *Cloppenburg*, and *Spanheim*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Winder*, and *Stillingfleet*, and *Delaney*, and *Warburton*, and *Faber*, and a number of the more judicious modern Germans, whose writings have not yet become familiar to American scholars; taking the quintessence of their best matter from them all; compressing into a single page, in many cases, the opinions, arguments, and authorities which they often spread

over half a dozen, or more. Let him guard against the fault into which so many historians, as well as commentators have fallen, the fault of being copious and fluent on the *easy places*, and passing over, either in total silence, or with a few unsatisfactory words, the really *difficult ones*, as if he saw them not. When a work on this plan shall be executed, —and it will require nothing more for its execution than strong good sense; sobriety of mind; a pious recollection, at every step, that the great subject in hand, is nothing less than the church of the living God, in its various characters and relations; and a capacity for close, patient attention, and indefatigable labour:—then our intelligent Christians will be furnished with a companion, which they will all highly prize, as an auxiliary in every department of religious reading; and our Theological Seminaries with a *text-book*, for the first part of their historical course, more convenient, rich, and instructive than they have ever yet enjoyed. When two or three large editions of *Jahn's* work shall have been sold and worn out, we hope the next generation of Professors in our Seminaries, will be so happy as to hail the completion, and enjoy the great advantages of such a present as we have now recommended.

BROWN'S THEORY OF CAUSE AND EFFECT.

THE late Dr. Brown, Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the University of Edinburgh, some years ago, published a book, entitled CAUSE AND EFFECT, in which he revived and defended the opinion of Mr. Hume, on the subject of *power*. It is due, however, to the ingenious author, to state that he distinctly disavowed Hume's skeptical inferences from this doctrine.

The same opinions, and the same reasonings, in support of them, are exhibited in his lectures on the philosophy of the mind, a more recent publication. And as the Philosophy of Dr. Brown has many admirers in this country, and has received unqualified recommendations from high authority, it will not, we trust, appear unreasonable or unnecessary, even at this late period, to bring his theory to the test of a fair examination; this is the object of the present article.

The opinion of Dr. B. to which I have referred is, that in philosophical accuracy, there is no such thing as *causation* or *power*; that *immediate invariable antecedence* is all that properly enters into the idea of a cause, and *immediate invariable consequence*, the true idea of *effect*; and accordingly, that power is nothing else but the relation between an *immediate invariable antecedent* and *consequent*. In plain English, his opinion is, that there is no such thing in nature as *power*; and that when we mean any thing more by this word, than merely to express the invariable antecedence of one thing to another we speak inaccurately, and unphilosophically. The words *cause*, *causa-*

tion, power, energy, efficacy, &c. express nothing, according to his theory, that is intelligible, besides the mere relation of *antecedence* and *sequence*.

It is admitted, however, by Dr. B. that almost the whole human race have annexed to these terms, or those which correspond with them, in their respective languages, ideas different from what he considers correct. The structure of all languages furnishes irrefragable proof of this fact. The notion of *action, causation, energy, &c.* is so common among men, that children and savages entertain it as familiarly as any others. It is an idea which is contained in every active verb, and no man can divest himself of it, or speak half a dozen sentences without using words which plainly convey this meaning. This fact is so manifest, that the ingenious author does not call it in question. He admits that the opinion which he maintains, is contrary "to the almost universal sense of mankind." Now such a general consent is commonly, and we think, justly considered as a strong proof, that the idea or sentiment, in which men so agree, is founded in nature, and accordant with truth. It must be strong reasoning, indeed, which shall demonstrate that an opinion entertained by men of all nations, however different in language, in manners, in education, in government, and in religion, is false. If this could be done, then all difference between truth and prejudice would be obliterated. To establish the certainty of the existence of *power* or *causation*, the argument derived from universal consent, appears to us to be irresistible; for we cannot suppose, that all men of all nations, from early childhood to hoary age, could be led to adopt an opinion which had no foundation, without admitting the absurd consequence, that all men are so constituted, that they are by necessity led to embrace error instead of truth. And this supposition would not answer the purpose of Dr. Brown, as it would render it impossible for him to establish any opinion as true; for that constitution

of human nature which leads men invariably astray, in one case, ought to be suspected in all. The true principles of philosophizing, should have led to a directly contrary course of reasoning. He should have assumed the fact, that all men possessed of reason, entertain from their earliest years the opinion that there is such a thing as *power* or *causation*; and this idea being incorporated, inseparably with every language in the world, it is a just conclusion, that this is one of those common notices, or self evident truths, which from the very constitution of our nature, we are under the necessity of receiving. Let any man attempt to form a language from which all idea of active energy or causation shall be excluded, and he will soon find that this is no vulgar prejudice, but a fundamental truth; an idea, which if it were removed from the human mind, would leave a vast chasm in all our reasonings and systems of truth, in every branch of science. If a people should ever be discovered, who used a language which did not involve, in every sentence, the conception of *power* and *causation*, this single fact would go farther to prove them to be of another species, than all the diversities which have hitherto been observed among the nations of the earth.

But let us see how Dr. B. disposes of this acknowledged fact, of the almost universal existence of the idea of *power*. He attempts to show, that there are analogous cases, in which, prejudices have, for a long time, had an almost universal prevalence. The instance which he adduces, and to which he often recurs, is the notion of a certain *something*, existing with all bodies, which the schoolmen, after Aristotle, called *form*, or *substantial forms*. This notion, it may be admitted, was as extensive, and existed as long as the Aristotelian logic prevailed. But the case is no how parallel to the one under consideration. The opinion respecting *substantial forms*, belonged to a peculiar system of philosophy, and as long as that system maintained its ground, it

would, of course, be entertained : but it was never the opinion of the great body of the people. The mass of mankind never heard of such an opinion ; and even in those countries, where it was held, it was merely the opinion of the learned. The common people then, knew as little, and believed as little, about *substantial forms*, as they do now. The idea is not incorporated, as is the case in regard to *power*, with all languages. It is not common to children and adults : savages, and philosophers. The case adduced, therefore, does not serve to account for the fact of the universal consent of mankind, in receiving this opinion. But it is time to attend to the proofs which Dr. B. offers in support of his theory : and that I may do no injustice to his meaning, I will give them in his own words :—The first is, “ That we have, in fact, no other idea in our mind, when we speak of *cause and effect*, than an invariable *antecedence* and *consequence*.” “ Thus, when a spark falls on gunpowder and kindles it into exposure, every one ascribes to the spark the *power* of enkindling the inflammables. But let any one ask himself, what it is which he means by the term, and without contenting himself with a few phrases which signify nothing,—reflect before he gives his answer, and he will find that he means nothing more than this, in all similar circumstances, the explosion of gunpowder, will be the immediate consequence of the application of a spark. To take an example more immediately connected with our own science, we all know, that as soon as any one in the usual circumstances of health and freedom, wills to move his arm, the motion of his arm follows, and we believe, that in the same circumstances of health and freedom, the motion of the arm will constantly follow the will to move it. If we knew and believed nothing more than that the motion of the arm would uniformly follow the will to move it, would our knowledge of the phenomenon be less perfect ? —“ Let us suppose ourselves then to know all the antece-

dents and consequents in nature, and to believe, not merely that they have once or repeatedly existed in connexion, but that they have uniformly done so, and will continue for ever to recur in a similar series; so that but for the intervention of the divine will, (which would be itself in that case, a new antecedent,) it will be impossible for any of the antecedents to exist again without being immediately followed by its original consequent."

Again, "To him who had previously kindled a fire, and placed on it a vessel full of water, with a certainty that in that situation the water would speedily become hot, what additional information would be given, by telling him that the fire had the power of boiling water?"—"It is only by confounding *casual* with *uniform* and *invariable antecedence*, that *power* can be conceived to be something different from *antecedence*." "Such is the simple, and as it appears to me, only intelligible view of power, as discoverable in the successive phenomena of nature, and how very different from this simple view, is the common, or I may almost say, the universal notion of the agencies which are supposed to be concerned in the phenomena, which are the objects of philosophical inquiry."—"To me it appears indeed so obvious a truth, that the substances which exist in nature—the world, its living inhabitants and their adorable Creator, are all the real existences in nature, and that in the various changes which occur, there can as little be any powers or susceptibilities different from the antecedents and consequences themselves, as there can be *forms* differing from the co-existing particles of matter which constitute them."

The author feeling, however, that it was incumbent on him to account more fully for the fallacy which he supposes to exist almost universally in regard to the nature of a *cause*, attributes it to "abstraction aided and perpetuated by the use of language." But the principal cause to which he ascribes this universal prejudice, is "the imperfection of the

senses." "We are frequently," he observes, "incapable of perceiving the immediate antecedent to a consequent, and are, therefore, in danger of connecting it with a wrong antecedent; by this means we are led to inquire after the true causes of things, that is, after their real and immediate antecedents." "As our senses are at present constituted, they are too imperfect to enable us to distinguish all the elements that co-exist in bodies; and of elements which are themselves unknown to us, the minute changes which take place in them, must of course be unknown." "And since it is only between immediate antecedents and consequents that we suppose any permanent and invariable relation, we are, therefore, constantly on the watch, to detect, in the more obvious changes that appear to us in nature, some of those minuter elementary changes, which we suspect to intervene." "He who for the first time listens to the delightful sound of a violin, if he be ignorant of the theory of sound, will very naturally suppose that the touch of the strings by the bow is the cause of the melody which he hears. He learns, however, that this primary impulse would be of little effect, were it not for the vibrations excited by the violin itself; and another discovery still more important shows him that the vibration of the instrument would be of no effect, were it not for the elastic medium interposed between his ear and it. It is no longer to the violin, therefore, that he looks, as the direct cause of the sensation of sound, but to the vibrating air; nor will even this be long considered as the *cause*, if he turns his attention to the structure of the organ of hearing. He will then trace effect after effect, through a long series of complex and very wonderful parts, till he arrives at the auditory nerve, and the whole mass of the brain." "The expectation of discovering something intermediate and unknown between all known events is easily convertible into the common notion of power, as a secret and invisible tie."

In the conclusion of his lecture on Cause and Effect, Dr. B. inquires how this notion will correspond with our idea of the efficiency of the great Creator, in the production of the universe ; and seems to find no difficulty here. The *divine will*, he makes the grand antecedent of those glorious effects which the universe displays. "The power of God, is not any thing different from God ; but is the Almighty himself willing whatever seems to him good." "We do not see any third circumstance existing intermediately and binding, as it were, the will of the omnipotent Creator to the things which are to be : we conceive only *the divine will* itself, as if made visible to our imagination, and all nature at the very moment rising around. It is evident, that in the case of the divine agency, as well as in every other instance of causation, the introduction of any other circumstance as a bond of closer connexion, would only furnish a new phenomenon to be itself connected." "God speaks and it is done : we imagine nothing intermediate."

Thus, we have endeavoured to present a fair view of Dr. Brown's theory, and with the explanations and reasons by which he endeavours to support it. We shall now make some remarks on the several particulars which have been brought into view, intended to show the unreasonableness, and dangerous tendency of his doctrine.

1. It will be admitted, that Dr. Brown has been successful in proving, by an elaborate analysis, in his treatise on Cause and Effect, that we have no *direct* conceptions of any thing else but the *antecedents* and *consequents*, in those series of events, which take place within us, or without us. It is true, that in no case, we are able to form any distinct conception of the operation of *any* cause : we see the *antecedent* and we see the *consequent*, but *how* the latter is affected by the former we perceive not. If Dr. Brown had contented himself with drawing the conclusion, (which is the only one that from the premises he had a right to draw.)

that we are capable of forming no distinct idea of the *nature* of causation, we should have acquiesced in his reasoning. But, are there not many things which we certainly know to exist, of which our ideas are merely relative? This is true of every substance. We can form a direct conception only of the properties, not of the substance itself. We are, nevertheless, led by the constitution of our nature to believe that there is a subject, or *substratum*, in which these properties inhere, and to which they belong. The same may be observed respecting dispositions or principles of action. Now, our persuasion, that there is such a thing as causation, is as uniform, and as irresistible, as the belief of material and immaterial substances. It is one of the clearest, and most universally experienced convictions of the human understanding. We see an effect, and immediately we believe that some sort of energy has been excited in its production. A million of men will all have the same feeling—*there must be a cause*. But Dr. Brown asserts that this idea of efficiency or energy is a mere illusion, and that it is not necessary to assign any other cause, than merely to ascertain what circumstance invariably precedes the event. Which shall we believe to be correct, the million or the one?

2. There seems to be some inconsistency in Dr. Brown's statement of the facts connected with this subject. On the one hand he admits that the common opinion, indeed, the almost universal opinion of men, is different from what he believes to be the true philosophical opinion; and yet, he seems to say, that if we would carefully attend to the conception which we have of power, we should find that it includes nothing but simple antecedence. "Let any one," says he in a passage already quoted, "ask himself what it is which he means by the term, and he will find that he means nothing more than that, in all similar circumstances, the explosion of gun powder will be the immediate and uniform consequence of the application of a spark." From this it

would seem, that after all, the ideas of men respecting power, are not so erroneous as has been represented ; that when they think of a cause, they do in fact think of nothing but an *invariable immediate* antecedent. If this be correct, we cannot but think, that the laborious investigation of the author was useless. But how in consistence with this, can it be maintained, that men are almost universally in a fallacy on this point ? Indeed, if the theory of Dr. B. be correct, it will be found extremely difficult to account for the origin of the notion of power or agency. How such a conception should enter the mind of man, is incomprehensible.

3. Dr. Brown attributes this illusion of men to "abstraction aided and perpetuated by the use of language," and the unavoidable modes of grammatical construction." But how abstraction should be the cause of error in men, who are very little in the habit of forming abstract ideas ; and how it should produce a uniformly erroneous effect, in men of every nation, and condition, is a problem not easily solved. Neither is it manifest, how this error could be "aided and perpetuated by the use of language, and the unavoidable modes of grammatical construction." Language receives its structure, and its forms, from ideas already existing, and from the modes of thinking which are common to all men, or peculiar to some one nation. It is certainly no very natural process to adopt such modes of speech as have no modes of thought corresponding with them ; and then, to suppose that these modes of speech should generate the ideas which they represent. What the ingenious author advances in illustration of his opinions, on this point, is far from possessing that clearness and precision which usually attend him, in his attempts at elucidating an obscure subject.

4. But the principal reason assigned by Dr. Brown for the general illusion, on the subject of cause and effect, is, "the imperfection of our senses." How the ingenious author applies this to the subject, we have already seen. But

it amounts to no more than this, that from our ignorance of the true nature of things, we are often led to ascribe effects to the wrong causes, and knowing our liableness to error, on this ground, when two things appear related, as cause and effect, or as an immediate antecedent and consequent, we suspect that they are not so related, but that there is still something not discovered, which is intermediate, and thus by searching for these invisible, intermediate links, in the concatenation of events, we come by association to imagine a mysterious connexion, between the *antecedents* and *consequents*; that is, we come at length to suppose, that one thing exerts an efficacy to produce what follows. The analysis of the process of the mind in seeking after the true causes of phenomena, given by the author, may be admitted: but it casts no light on the main point in question. As to the principle so universally received, that there must be a cause for every effect, it has no dependence on our knowledge of the true cause. Our conviction is equally firm, that there must be an exertion of power, where an effect is produced, when we see no cause, as when we certainly know what it is. We may believe, that in most cases, we are ignorant of the real efficient causes of events; or we may be in doubt, of a number of apparent causes, which is the real one; but this has no effect on our conviction, that there is a real efficient cause, somewhere. Philosophers may dispute whether the effects apparently produced by the agency of material causes, are not rather to be attributed to some spiritual agency, either of the first cause, operating through all nature, or, of subordinate agents, under his control; but they all agree that these effects must have an adequate cause. When I will to move my arm, it may be disputed, whether the effect is produced by my volition, or by some other cause acting harmoniously with my will, but it never can be disputed that the motion of my arm has a real, efficient cause, whatever it may be.

So when I observe, that my thoughts follow each other in a certain order, and that thoughts of a certain kind are invariably followed by certain other thoughts, it may be matter of dispute, whether the antecedent thought or desire is the real cause of that which follows. The affirmative, however probable, is not capable of demonstration; for it is possible, that this effect may be produced by some superior and invisible agent. But while, in all these cases, we may doubt about the *real* cause, even when we are certain of the immediate and invariable antecedence of one thing to another; yet we never doubt whether there does not exist a cause of the effect produced. This conviction is one which attends us every where, and of which we can no more divest ourselves, than of the consciousness of existence. It is one of those intuitive, self-evident truths, which cannot be rendered clearer or more certain, by any reasoning. In fact, all reasoning is built upon it, as on its most solid foundation; and if it were possible to dislodge it from the minds of men, (which it is not,) all reasoning and all human exertions would cease.

5. But not to rest merely on the defensive, we would next remark, that immediate, invariable antecedence does not, in many cases, give us the idea of a cause. There are innumerable instances of immediate invariable antecedence, in which we never think of ascribing causation to the antecedents. From the moment of our birth, the pulsations of the heart succeed each other immediately and invariably, but we do not, therefore, consider one pulsation as the true cause of the next succeeding one. One portion of duration immediately and invariably succeeds another, but who ever thought that one moment was the cause of the one following. When the electricity of the clouds strikes an object, light is uniformly emitted, but we do not consider light to be the cause of the effects produced. We are accustomed to distinguish between a *sign* and a *cause*, although the former may be as *immediate* and *invariable* as the latter.

6. According to Dr. Brown's theory, there is no need that there should be any PROPORTION between the cause and effect ; for if *antecedence* be all that is included in the idea of a cause, it is evident, that the most important event may be conceived to have, as its antecedent, the most trivial thing in the universe. Thus the song of the sky-lark, if it only had immediate, invariable antecedence, might be the cause of the rising of the sun ; and the chirping of a sparrow, of the revolution of the planets.

7. Again, upon this theory, all reasoning from the nature of an effect to the character of the cause, and from the nature of the cause to the character of the effect, must be vain. For it matters not what be the nature of the cause or effect, provided only there be immediate invariable antecedence and consequence.

All arguments, therefore, for the existence of an intelligent first cause, derived from a consideration of the appearances of design, in the universe, must, on this theory, be perfectly futile. All we want, to account for any thing, however great, or good, or wise, is, that something, it matters not what, should precede it immediately, and invariably. Indeed, we see not, why *nothing* may not, upon these principles, be the cause of all things, as well as a self-existent Deity ; for as there is no efficiency, or energy, in a cause, all the requisites of the most potent cause, may be found in *nothing*, as well as in something which has real existence. It is due to the ingenious author, to say, that he appears to entertain exalted conceptions of the great Creator, and rejects every idea of Atheism. This, however, does not alter the nature and tendency of his theory, which must be judged by its own merits. When the author speaks, as we have seen he does, of all things springing into existence from the mere will of God, the sentiment is just and noble ; but in this case we do not exclude the idea of *energy*, *power*, and *efficiency* ; we conceive that God is so per-

fect, that the mere act of his will includes in it *all energy*. It is the supreme efficiency. But if you view it merely as an *antecedent*, any thing else conceivable might be the cause of all things, as well. Why must *the divine will* be the antecedent to the existence of the universe, if there be no efficiency—if there be no such thing as real causation?

8. When the ingenious author makes the whole of a cause, in every case, to consist in immediate and invariable antecedence, it seems that all idea of contact, contiguity in place, or the immediate presence of the antecedent with the consequent, is excluded. Connexion *in time*, seems to be the only thing necessary, according to this theory. Therefore, the causes of events may be at an infinite distance. If an occurrence in the planet Saturn should uniformly precede an event on this earth, it would therefore be its cause.

9. But again, an effect may have more invariable antecedents than one, and which then is the true cause? According to the theory under consideration, both. Thus we may have many causes of the same effect, which would introduce perfect confusion into every department of philosophy.

10. It does not appear, according to the theory under consideration, what we are to think of those things which occur *very often*, as antecedents and consequents, and yet not invariably; or rather it does not appear, why these do not partake, in proportion to their frequency of connexion, of the nature of *cause and effect*. Suppose one thing to precede another nine hundred and ninety-nine times, and then fails once, and so on, why is this antecedence to be excluded entirely from the class of causes? We see no good reason for it. Indeed, it is not made evident by the author, why the succession must be invariable, to constitute a cause. As antecedence in time is the whole idea of power, it would seem to be more reasonable to consider every thing a cause when it happened to precede another, whether its antecedence was invariable or casual.

11. Moreover, if invariable antecedence is necessary to constitute a cause, then those effects which occur but once have no cause; and all effects, when they first existed, were without cause; or must have been so considered by an intelligent spectator. For although he might observe that something immediately preceded the effect, it could not be known whether the connexion between the antecedent and consequent was *casual* or *invariable*. And it is the confounding these two things, to which Dr. Brown attributes a great part of our errors on this subject. Indeed, if *invariable* as well as *immediate* antecedence be necessary to the idea of a cause, it is manifest, that long experience was requisite, before men could judge any thing respecting *cause* and *effect*. And after all, our observation is confined within so narrow bounds, that we are little capable of determining whether the connexion of things which we see in any case is absolutely invariable. And what judgment could we form on these principles, of a miraculous event? For in this, the effect is contrary to those which usually follow from such antecedents as we perceive to exist. If a miracle can occur on Dr. Brown's principles, can it be of use to establish any doctrine? Suppose a manifest miracle to occur before our eyes; the question will be, to what cause must it be attributed? According to the old doctrine of cause and effect, the answer is, to the power of God, because nothing else can produce such a work. But if there be no such thing as *power*, we can draw no such inference. As it has no invariable antecedent, it can have no cause; or as mere antecedence is the only idea of a cause, it may have been produced by any cause, it matters not what, provided only it preceded the miracle. And we come to the same conclusion, if an inquiry be made respecting the cause of the existence of the world. The event being single it could have no invariable antecedent; but supposing, as Dr. Brown evidently does, that there are some cases in which mere antecedence

is all that is necessary in a cause, the other consequence presses upon us, that any preceding thing, or even *nothing*, as was shown before, may be the cause of the universe. It is in vain that the philosopher talks sublimely of the will of God being the antecedent, for it is impossible for him to demonstrate upon his principles, that any such antecedent is necessary to the existence of the universe. For if he should insist, that no other antecedent is adequate to such a work of magnificence, he immediately abandons his main and favorite principle, viz. *that mere antecedence is cause and mere consequence effect*. If the wisdom and will of God, as the author every where admits, are necessary, as the antecedent or cause of the universe, then there must be something in a cause besides mere immediate invariable antecedence. There must be something in the cause proportioned to the effect produced. In short, where marks of intelligence are manifest in the effect, there must be wisdom as well as power in the cause. And this brings us back to the old common-sense doctrine of cause and effect, in departing from which, there is nothing to be gained, but much to be lost.

12. Finally, if power be nothing, and causation be mere antecedence, we do not perceive how we shall be able to maintain the accountableness of man, or any other moral agent, for his actions. According to this theory, all actions are separate, independent events, which have no relation whatever to one another, except that of antecedence and consequence. We do not see, therefore, on what point we can fix man's responsibility. If we; this moment, have a will to do a good action the next moment, and if that good action should follow invariably this volition, still, according to the theory, the volition had no influence in the production of the consequent good action. They are both links in a chain which cannot be broken; or rather fixed points in a succession, which have no other dependence on one another, or relation to each other, than this, that in the succession, cer-

tain points stand next in order to certain other points. Thus *necessity*, in its most forbidding form, is established ; and human power, liberty, and responsibility, are subverted. We know, indeed, that Dr. Brown and his followers, do not admit these to be legitimate inferences from their doctrine, and of course, we do not charge such opinions upon them. But as they appear to us to be just deductions, it is fair to bring them forward as arguments against a system, which appears to us fraught with danger to sound philosophy. Nothing has tended so much to bring mental philosophy into disrepute, as the paradoxical and extravagant opinions of some ingenious men, who in their reasonings have too much lost sight of first principles, and have trusted too much to abstruse speculations. In no science is sobriety of mind and soundness of judgement more requisite, than in the philosophy of the mind.

It is a pleasing reflection, that such is our constitution, that opinions subversive of the first principles of truth, never can prevail, to any great extent. Our safety from errors of the most enormous kind, consists in the impossibility of adopting them. Men may, indeed, by pursuing a course of intricate and sophistical reasoning, come to conclusions, which are repugnant to those truths, which are primary and self-evident ; and while the mind is intent on its own reasoning, there may be an assent to these absurd conclusions ; and in writing, and discourse, they may be defended with much pertinacity and ingenuity, but in common life, where philosophical principles are lost sight of, the skeptic thinks, and believes, and acts, like other men. To common people, who are guided entirely by plain, evident truth, these skeptical opinions of philosophers, always appear, not only paradoxical, but nonsensical, and they feel no inclination to adopt them ; so that there is no danger of their spreading, very extensively. But false opinions of this sort are nevertheless attended with much injury. Young men, who have

learned, that many opinions which they acquired in the nursery, or in their narrow domestic circle, are mere prejudices of education, are prone to suspect every thing which they have been taught, and have been accustomed to receive as true. When we perceive that many notions which were long considered undoubted truths, are proved by the light of philosophy, to be altogether unfounded, we naturally incline to be skeptical about every thing. And this is not all. When the darkness of ignorance and prejudice begins to be scattered, by the increasing lights of science and philosophy, pride of learning is apt to spring up; and a desire to appear superior to the vulgar, leads many to embrace and cherish opinions which differ widely from the common belief. Because, in some things, they have seen that vulgar opinions are false, they too hastily conclude, that the more any opinion differs from that commonly received, the more certain it is; and by professing it, that their superior wisdom is rendered more manifest. Now, the theories of ingenious skeptical philosophers, find in such minds a soil in which they readily take root. Thus, Hume by his metaphysical subtleties, the tendency of which is often to render all things uncertain, has bewildered and perverted the minds of many aspiring youth. And although, we would by no means, put Dr. Brown in the same class as Mr. Hume, for he appears always ingenuous, and friendly to religion; yet we think it is manifest, that he had been too conversant with Hume's philosophy. He was probably carried away, before his judgment was mature, with admiration of the writings of this fascinating skeptic. And while his good principles led him to reject Hume's atheistical opinions, he endeavoured to retain and support some of the most dangerous of his philosophical theories.

What will be the effect of the publication of Dr. Brown's philosophy, in this country, it is not easy to foretell. Attention to this department of science is yet confined to a com-

paratively small number, even of our reading population. But the taste for metaphysical inquiries is increasing, and no writer is likely to attract more readers, than Dr. Brown, as he contrives, by the peculiar buoyancy of his mind, and by the elegance and frequency of his classical allusions, to spread a charm over a subject, commonly considered the least capable of being rendered amusing. There is also so much that is original and accurate, in his Lectures ; so much distinct and perspicuous analysis, so much elegant description, and so much superiority to the authority and influence of former systems, and of great names, that it is much to be regretted, that in a few points of fundamental importance, he has adopted and inculcated opinions so absurd and dangerous. That his theories have, in some instances, operated unfavourably on young men of ardent minds, we know to be a fact : but in our opinion, the right way to prevent the bad consequences of such books, is not to prohibit the reading of them, but to answer them, and to lead young men to peruse them with caution, and at the proper *time*.

The General Assembly's Board of Education,

AND THE

AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

IN the present aspect of the moral and religious world, there is something very peculiar, distinguishing it from any preceding period. Our world, in all ages, has presented a scene of wide spreading moral desolation, sufficient to call forth the sympathies and exertions of the Christian and Philanthropist. But obstacles, in the way of moral reformation, arising from the prejudices and political institutions of mankind, have existed, appalling to human reason and almost insuperable to the strongest faith in the divine promises. Since the days of the apostles, exertions, corresponding to the magnitude and importance of the object, have seldom been made by individuals, and never by the great body of professed Christians. And not unfrequently those whose hearts were engaged in the cause of God and man, have expended their strength and zeal in the use of means not sanctioned by the great head of the Church. When not groaning under the yoke of oppression, or bleeding beneath the sword of persecution, they have sought the patronage of the civil power, and endeavored, by *carnal weapons*, to secure the victory, promised to be achieved only by *the sword of the Spirit*. The history of Christendom confirms the truth, that God will honor no means in extending and building up the kingdom of the Redeemer, except the voluntary exertions of his people in the use of those bloodless weapons, furnished in the Holy Scriptures : and that these are

mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds. Convinced by the fruitless attempts of past ages, that no reliance can safely be placed on the secular arm, Christians have been taught to look for the blessing of God on their own voluntary exertions. And if there are any so unapt to learn, as still to expect from the civil power any favor except protection and security in obeying the dictates of conscience, the fundamental principles of our government utterly exclude the most distant hope. We are reduced to the happy necessity of depending on God alone in the use of the appointed means for the fulfilment of his promises. The patronage afforded by other governments being thus removed, the Church is left to feel the full weight of her own responsibility; that on her unconstrained exertions depend the existence of a Christian ministry, the maintenance of public worship, and under God, the salvation of immortal souls. And we bless God that those who love our Lord Jesus Christ, have not been altogether insensible to the weight of obligation imposed by the circumstances in which they are placed. The various and successful operations of Christian benevolence, in the present day, furnish ample evidence that the gospel imparts to the heart an energy sufficient to sustain any enterprise required by the exigencies of the Church and of the world. It is true, nothing has yet been done commensurate to the spiritual wants of our own country, and much less of the world. But a spirit of Christian enterprise has been awakened, which we trust in God, will not rest, until the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God. Thus far, whenever, spiritual wants have been ascertained, and fields of promising usefulness pointed out; the calls for pecuniary assistance have been answered with a promptitude and liberality, which leave no ground to fear the want of means to accomplish any future enterprise. A heart imbued with the spirit of the gospel, never can be insensible to the claims of a perishing world. As soon as it

is known that the the Bible is needed, and that the people are willing to receive it, money flows from innumerable channels into the treasury of the Lord. In like manner the means of supporting ministers of the gospel to an indefinite extent, may be obtained from those who need their ministrations, aided by the voluntary contributions of the more favored portions of the Church. So numerous are the promising fields opening in our own vast territory, not to mention foreign countries, that laborers, sufficient to cultivate one half of the ground, cannot be obtained. Indeed, the operations of missionary societies are limited, not by the want of pecuniary means, but of competent and faithful men willing to endure privation and labor. A few years ago, when the first Theological Seminary was established in this country, the question was frequently asked, where will these young ministers find employment? Those already in that sacred office receive with difficulty a scanty subsistence. What will become of an additional number? Experience has shown how groundless are these apprehensions. Now, when these institutions have been multiplied ten-fold, the calls for ministerial labor are so numerous and pressing, that our young men are generally engaged before they have finished the prescribed course of study.

The Presbyteries connected with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, report between six and seven hundred congregations destitute of regular pastors. And we venture to affirm, that the churches of other denominations, are not, in proportion to their numbers, more fully supplied. The proportion of ministers, to the population of the United States, is every year rapidly diminishing. The tide of population is flowing to the west, to the north, and to the south; so that in less than one-fourth of a century, cultivated fields, flourishing villages and large cities, will occupy places now the abodes of wild beasts. These colonies, emigrating from Europe and the older states, carry

with them the elements of social institutions and Christian churches. They not only receive with gratitude the Christian missionary who visits their new abode, but they send back from the wilderness repeated and earnest entreaties, to give them Bibles and ministers able to teach them to understand what they read. The American Bible Society has said that they shall have Bibles—and the Christian community is responding—means shall be furnished to redeem the pledge. Missionary societies, are saying, we know where a thousand missionaries more than we can command, may be fully and usefully employed; and we know, also, where the means necessary for their support can be obtained. But men of suitable qualifications cannot be procured. Never did a field more extensive and promising present itself to the enterprise of the Christian community. The question is, shall it be left uncultivated until it be overspread with briars, and thorns, and thistles? Shall those who know the value of Christian privileges, and are willing, according to their means, to aid in obtaining them, be permitted to pass off the stage of action, and their children to grow up in ignorance and irreligion, before the heralds of the cross be sent to their assistance? Every one knows that the difficulty of instructing and reforming a people universally sunk in ignorance and vice, is an hundred-fold greater, than when a few are standing ready, at once, to take the minister of the gospel by the hand—to cheer him in his labors, and to aid him by their counsel, their influence, and their prayers. If our vast territory is ever to be filled with a Christian population, it is more economical to take possession, while we have in the bosom of the country, auxiliaries, than to gain possession after it falls, as is the certain consequence of delay, entirely into the hands of the enemy. Now only a part, hereafter the whole of the expense must be borne by the established churches. In the one case, the strength and resources of the Church would be increasing with the growth

of the country. The churches formed, would aid in forming others. In case of present inaction, not only the relative, but the positive strength of the Church would diminish.—For in the moral, as well as the physical world, action is necessary, in order to retain the vigor already possessed. All this is admitted. *The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few.* Where shall we find men of a right spirit duly qualified for this work? What is to be done in the evident destitution of laborers necessary to collect and secure the abundant harvest now ready for the sickle? Our Master has given the answer—*Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest.* This prayer has for ages been on the tongues of professed Christians, and is still repeated, whenever the wants of the Church and of the world come into remembrance. But is it accompanied with corresponding exertions? It is self-evident that to pray God to grant a particular blessing, when at the same time we neglect the use of means in our power, necessary to its attainment, is nothing less than solemn mockery. Earnestly to desire an object and not to raise a hand to receive it, when presented, is inconsistent with the invariable principles of human action. Could it be believed that a man, having the perfect use of his limbs, was really thirsty and desirous of a drink of cool water, when instead of going ten steps to a copious fountain, he would sit and beg that it might be conveyed to him by the immediate hand of the Almighty? We pray, and very justly, that the hungry may be fed, and the naked clothed, and yet if we do not minister to their wants according to our means, what advantage are our prayers to ourselves or to the needy? It is true, man cannot make ministers such as would be a blessing to the Church and the world. He cannot give them a new heart, and furnish them with the natural talents necessary to preach the gospel in a profitable manner. Therefore we must pray the Lord

of the harvest, to send forth laborers into his harvest. But is there no human instrumentality to be employed in the conversion of those who are to be preachers of the gospel? Is there no human means to be used in training and preparing them when converted for that great work? It is admitted that God could, if it seemed good, take the ignorant and illiterate, and endow them with the gift of tongues, as he did a great part of the apostles, and make them the instruments of confounding the wisdom of the learned; or he could call those already educated with a view to secular professions, and inspire them with a knowledge of the mysteries of his kingdom, as he did the apostle Paul, and send them forth fully furnished to this great work. But this is not his ordinary mode of proceeding, as well in the kingdom of grace as of nature. God has provided in abundance, timber and stones, and every material suitable for the construction of houses,—but he has nowhere, or at any time, provided houses already built and furnished, without the intervention of human agency. We owe to God primarily our food and clothing, yet bread nowhere springs from the earth, nor garments grow on the trees precisely in the form suited to our use. A similar connection between means and ends pervades the kingdom of grace. *Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent.* Now, if salvation be not attainable without this long series of means, how can men be sent to preach without any previous preparation?

At the introduction of Christianity, when miracles were necessary to prove the divine authority of the new religion, our Lord did not send forth illiterate Fishermen to preach the gospel, without previous instruction and preparation.

They were with Him, who taught as never man taught, during the whole period of his personal ministry, they saw his miracles, heard his instructions, were witnesses of his death and resurrection, conversed with him forty days before his ascension, and finally, were endowed with the power of speaking more different languages than any minister of the present day can learn in a lifetime. Paul previously furnished with all the learning and literature of his age and country, was called to the apostleship; and consecrating his high intellectual attainments to the service of his Lord and Master, he became one of the most able, as well as most zealous and successful ministers of the New Testament. To prove the necessity of a learned and able ministry in this country, where the advantages of education are general, and at this period, when every branch of literature and science is cultivated in a high degree, seems wholly superfluous. The experience of ages justifies the opinion now generally entertained by intelligent Christians of all denominations, that in a useful minister of the gospel, mental culture must be connected with ardent and devoted piety. How can a man not furnished with the necessary information, instruct others? Or if he have the requisite knowledge, he must *be apt to teach*, capable of communicating in plain and intelligible language, his thoughts and feelings. Language is usually acquired by imitation and practice. And it is a general rule in the administration of the divine government, not to bestow gratuitously that which may be acquired by human industry. A contrary mode of procedure would hold out an irresistible temptation to indolence and folly. The question then returns, how are ministers of the gospel, equal in number and in gifts, to the exigencies of the Church, to be procured?—We repeat our Lord's answer—*Pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest.* Pray God to pour out his Holy Spirit on schools and colleges, and to convert and dispose young

men, now in a course of education, to consecrate their talents and acquirements to the Lord—and let this prayer be accompanied with means suited to produce the effect. In the next place, let the Church take young men of promising talent, and hopeful piety, who are destitute of the means of obtaining a liberal education, and train them up for the service of the Lord. There are many such young men—the fruits of the refreshing influence which God has shed down in various places on the American Churches. This fact is a manifest proof, that the Lord of the harvest has heard prayer, has selected his laborers, and is waiting for the Church to do her duty, in educating the sons He has given her. In our country there are hundreds of young men distinguished for piety and talent, earnestly desirous to serve the Lord in any way he may direct, who are utterly excluded from the hope of obtaining a liberal education by their own resources, or those of their parents. What duty more obvious and pressing, than to educate these young men for future usefulness? They are the children of the Church, she needs their services, and she is bound to take them by the hand, to instruct them, and to direct their steps to a field where their labors are likely to be most conducive to her interest. To this case the general principle of political economy is not applicable: that where labor of any kind is in demand, men will, of their own accord, without artificial stimuli, prepare themselves for the occupation in which service is required. Because in the first place, the ordinary motives of interest do not, or ought not, to operate in the case before us. In this country the Church has no patronage from the civil government—no rich prebends to tempt the cupidity of parents in directing the education of their sons—no splendid livings independent on the will of the people, where the indolent incumbent is secure of his maintenance, in whatever manner he may perform the duties of his sacred office. Such also is happily the state of public

sentiment, that the people will not long support a minister who is not active and laborious, manifesting a greater zeal for their spiritual interests than for his own private emolument. In these circumstances, when a gifted, and well educated young man, regards his own ease, or is ambitious of rising in the world, he usually turns his attention to some secular profession. And when we see a young man in independent circumstances, entering the gospel ministry, as is sometimes the case, we have strong presumptive evidence that he is governed by other motives than those of a worldly character. In the next place, many liberally educated young men lack piety; an essential and primary requisite in a useful minister. To introduce men destitute of piety into this sacred office, would be a curse, instead of a blessing to the Church, and to the world. If such men would answer, the cheaper and speedier way to supply the destitute with religious instruction, would be to raise the emoluments of the clergy. Then the same principle which preserves the equilibrium in secular employments, attracting labor where it is most needed and best rewarded, would operate, and we would have no cause to complain that the laborers were too few. Thus, where the Church is liberally patronized by the State, there is no lack of candidates for the gospel ministry. But such a state of things, when worldly-minded men, for the sake of filthy lucre are induced to intrude themselves into the sacred office, is pestilence and death to the interests of moral reformation, and vital piety. If then, the Church would preserve her holy doctrines pure and unadulterated, if she would hold forth the word of life to the multitudes perishing around her, and provide for the spiritual wants of the rising generation, she must bring into her service, by a course of intellectual discipline, these young men, whose hearts God has prepared for the work, by the operations of His Spirit.

This is no new and untried experiment. It has been

done in an unsystematic, and comparatively small way in the Presbyterian Church, for many years : and the result of the trial has been the most happy and encouraging. The mind of the Christian community seems now prepared to make a mighty and united effort, in this great cause on which every other Christian enterprise is evidently dependent.

While we are agreed respecting the importance of the object contemplated, we may, it is believed, honestly differ respecting the best mode of accomplishing it. Some years ago, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, appointed a Board of Education, to which the management of this concern was committed. We are not informed respecting the plan of operation adopted by the Board, nor of the precise extent of their labors. We know, in general, that nothing worthy the importance of the cause, nothing commensurate to the resources and wants of the Presbyterian Church, has been done. At the late sessions of the General Assembly, a proposition was made and adopted, to re-organize and enlarge the Board of Education, so that it might proceed with greater energy and effect in this important business. It remains yet to be determined whether any thing effective will result from the new arrangement. We know that many intelligent and influential members of the Presbyterian Church are anxiously waiting to see what steps will be taken. Their wishes and their feelings are in favor of the Assembly's Board, in preference to any other. But if nothing decided and effective be done the present year, they will be compelled, although with reluctance, to abandon all reliance on that Body, and to act singly, or to connect themselves with some other Society, pursuing the same object. Others think that the Assembly's Board of Education is wholly unnecessary ; that the object in view may be attained more certainly and speedily, by the members of the Presbyterian Church, forming societies, auxiliary to the American Education Society. That Society, it is said, is

perfectly organized, is in successful operation, has intelligent, zealous, and efficient agents, has collected large funds, and established a great number of scholarships, and has given a solemn public pledge that no young man of piety and talent in the United States, shall want the means of obtaining a thorough collegiate and theological education : and further, a large and efficient portion of the Presbyterian Church in the States of New-York and New-Jersey, now auxiliary to the American Education Society, is laboring harmoniously and successfully in the great cause. Why in these circumstances, it is asked, should an attempt be made to destroy unity of counsel and action, so essential to success, in every noble enterprize ? Why distract the attention of the Churches, and diminish the amount of contributions, by applications from different Boards, for the same great object ?

We admit, that there is something very magnanimous and captivating in the idea of a great society, laying aside sectarian names, collecting and disbursing funds in educating pious indigent young men for the gospel ministry, regardless of sect or party. We admit the energy and success of the American Education Society, that it has done more in exploring the spiritual wants of our country, in enlightening public sentiment on this subject, in pressing home on the consciences of Christians, the indispensable duty of engaging heart and hand in this mighty work, than has been done by all others. With unqualified pleasure, we admit also, that the concerns of this Society are managed by men in whose intelligence, piety, and energy, we have the highest confidence. Yet we are persuaded, after the fullest consideration we have been able to give the subject, that the Presbyterian Church, in her ecclesiastical capacity, ought to provide the means, and to direct the education of those who are to be her future ministers, not depending on others to do that which she is abundantly able to do herself. This

may be done consistently with the kindest feelings, and best wishes towards others, who are seeking a similar object in a different way. That portion of the Presbyterian Church, now in no degree connected with the American Education Society, is a field sufficiently large to occupy the time and labor of one General Agent, and several assistants.

The American Education Society has now two Secretaries, or General Agents, constantly and laboriously employed, aided by the secretaries and agents of numerous auxiliaries. And if its operations be extended so as to meet the wants of the whole United States, the labor, and consequently the number of agents, must be vastly increased. The expense of agencies could not, therefore, be saved by a connexion with the American Education Society.

It is believed, also, that the charter of corporation of the Presbyterian Church is amply sufficient for the security and management of the necessary funds. Indeed, we can conceive of no possible advantage to be attained by an union with the National Society. And on the contrary, we think we foresee many appalling evils that would result from such an union.

To this conclusion, contrary to former partialities, we have been led by a recent examination of the fundamental principles of that Society, as well as by noticing, their practical effects, as far as time, would permit their developement. When the claims of the American Education Society were first presented, impressed with the importance of the object, without examining the bearings of its principles, we gave it our approbation, and feeble aid. A closer inspection of its peculiar features, has excited the most serious apprehensions that it may in the end injure the cause which it was designed to subserve.

We are constrained by a sense of duty, honestly to state our objections, and let the Christian community decide whether or not, they are well founded.

1. The details of expenses and receipts, of clothing, of books, of donations from other societies and friends, of profits of teaching and labor, of debts contracted and paid, which young men, under the patronage of this society, are required to make every quarter, are unnecessarily and painfully minute. The design of this requirement is doubtless to guard against extravagance and imposition. These ends, it seems to us, might be attained in a less objectionable way. The committees of examination, or the teachers, under whose inspection the youth are, could judge of these matters with sufficient accuracy. And after all, if imposition be intended, a false report not easily detected might be made. The plan holds out a powerful temptation to conceal the amount of receipts and expenses, so as to form a stronger claim on the aid of the Society; placing the beneficiary in the attitude of a common beggar, whose success depends on the dolefulness of his story. Young men of delicate and ingenuous feelings, shrink from this public developement of private and personal circumstances.

We know more than one young man of unquestionable piety, and of exemplary character, who cannot, for this reason, be persuaded to ask, or accept the patronage of the American Education Society. We do not urge this objection, because it may be easily removed. We respectfully suggest it for the consideration of the Managers of that institution.

2. The principle of refunding the monies advanced to young men patronized, is a doubtful, if not a dangerous feature in this institution. The reasons of introducing it seem to us more specious than solid. They are two: first to relieve the beneficiary from the mortification of being considered a *charity* student; and secondly, to augment the means and perpetuate the benefits of the society. We regret, exceedingly, that men of such high intelligence and exemplary piety, as the Directors of the American Education Society,

should have deemed it necessary to form a screen to shelter those who are educated by the piety of the Church, from the unmerited reproach often attempted to be cast upon them. We might as justly say, that sons, educated at the expense of their parents, are charity students, because they defray no part of the expense themselves, and have no expectation of making a pecuniary recompense. The Church sustains a very near and sacred relation to all her members, and especially to the young. She is their parent, their guardian, bound by the most sacred ties to give them spiritual nourishment and such an education as is suited to their capacity, and likely to be useful to the community of which they are members. On this high ground we would fix our standard, and let those, who pleased, hurl the shafts of ridicule and contempt. We would thus show the world that the Church is indeed one family, one body; that each member is the servant of the whole; and that the whole directs and aids the operations of each member. We would say farther, that a civil community, having a wise regard to its future necessities, educates some of its young citizens, in reference to a particular profession, which may be useful to the State. Look at our National Military School—the glory and defence of our country—There young men, the sons of the rich, as well as the poor, are educated free of expense. They are the adopted sons of their country, because they have talents which promise future usefulness. Look at our navy. Lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age, are appointed midshipmen, with pay sufficient for their support, when, for several years, they are incapable of rendering any essential service. In fact, they also are sent to school, free of expense; for they are placed in a situation, the best suited to prepare them for a particular profession. And, yet, in neither case, are bonds given to refund the money expended in their education. They are not even bound to serve in the profession for which they have been educated at public expense. And

what is more, their prospects of wealth and distinction in future life, are as good as those of any other class of citizens. Now, what distinguishes a cadet, educated by his country, and a youth educated by the Church, that the one is stigmatized as a charity scholar, and the other is not? It is this single circumstance, and nothing more—the maintenance of the one is obtained by law, that is, by compulsion,—that of the other is voluntary, springing from the best feelings of the human heart.

The money advanced by the American Education Society is called a *loan*, a *parental loan*. But parents do not usually take bonds of their children, to refund the money expended in their education. They trust to their gratitude, their sense of moral obligation, that they will not permit the parent who has nurtured and educated them, to suffer want in old age; and this security is generally sufficient. If a father bind a son with legal bonds, he, at the same time, cancels that of filial duty.

What, let us consider, for a moment, must be the effect on the future comfort and usefulness of the beneficiaries of these loans, which are to be repaid in *one, two, and three years after their preparatory studies for the ministry shall have been closed; with interest after the same shall have become due*. We ask any one acquainted with the state of the American Churches candidly to say, whether the worldly prospects in the gospel ministry are so flattering as to justify any young man of common prudence, in binding himself to pay five or six hundred dollars in three years after he becomes a pastor, from the salary he expects to receive? In a few cases, where a minister remains unmarried, expends nothing for books, and gives little or nothing to the numerous benevolent institutions, which he must recommend to the liberality of his people, it may be done. But is this consistent with usefulness or duty, to consider the claims

of the American Education Society, prior to all others?

We apprehend the tendency of this regulation will be, to create a calculating craving disposition, manifesting itself in every part of future life; or it is possible that a man of delicate feelings, seeing no prospect of relieving himself from this burden, may sink into despondency and inaction. The individual may also have other claims, equally sacred, resting upon him. As the sum afforded by the American Education Society is not sufficient to pay half the expense of an education in the cheapest college in the United States, he may have received aid from his parents or other friends, who, by a change of circumstances, have a stronger moral claim, than even the A. E. Society; and yet, if the Society chooses to make a demand, the written obligation must have the preference. It is true, the Directors have a discretionary power, and they have pledged themselves to exercise it in extraordinary cases; and we are persuaded, that the present Directors will never abuse their power; but we do not know who are to be their successors.

Some of our Colleges and Theological Seminaries have funds devoted to the education of young men, having in view the gospel ministry. Now, if these institutions aid the beneficiaries of the American Education Society, and take bonds of like tenor, the recipient of this double kindness must inevitably sink under the heavy pressure. And can the A. E. Society reasonably expect that these institutions will give their funds gratuitously to a young man, and permit him to bind himself with legal bonds to another corporation; so that he cannot, if his circumstances otherwise would permit, and his gratitude prompt him to do so, make any return to the source from which, perhaps, he received the most substantial assistance?

A young man under the patronage of the American Education Society, if he have no property of his own, must receive additional aid from some quarter; for it is not pretended that

seventy or eighty dollars are sufficient to meet all his necessary annual expenses for clothing, boarding, books, tuition, fuel, lights. Now, if private associations, or Churches, or Presbyteries make up this additional sum, they in fact become auxiliary to the National Society, and throw gratuitously whatever they contribute into a stock, pledged to refund all that has been received through the hands of the parent society. And from what source, permit us to ask, are these funds to be ultimately derived? On the supposition that the young man has no property when he commences his ministry; that he does not in some unforeseen way become heir to an estate; that he does not engage in some lucrative secular employment, the means of refunding must come from the congregation which he serves. If the salary now paid to ministers be barely sufficient to support their families, it is evident an addition must be made, in order to liquidate the debt for which they are legally bound. Thus, every congregation, which shall call to the pastoral office a beneficiary of the A. E. Society, virtually becomes tributary to that corporation.

And what becomes of these monies when refunded? The bond given by the beneficiaries shows that they go directly into the hands of the parent Society; and according to the constitution and rules of the Society, are entirely and absolutely under its control. The annual income of scholarships and donations are pledged to the auxiliaries, by whose means they were obtained, and are subject to their directions. But the monies refunded by beneficiaries, are not thus pledged to the auxiliaries from whom they originally came. For example, suppose the Presbyterian Branch in New-York educates an hundred young men, and after a few years one-half of them return what they have received, amounting to twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, the Branch in New-York cannot, unless it be the good pleasure of the Parent Board, touch a cent of that money. Suppose farther, that

all the Presbyterian Churches in the United States were to become auxiliary to the American Education Society, the monies refunded by all their beneficiaries, as well as their annual surplus, must go to the Parent Board, and be entirely beyond the reach of the Branches. Add these monies refunded to the permanent funds and scholarships intrusted to the immediate care of the Parent Society, and it seems to us that if this process were to go on for half a century, a height of independence must be attained, sufficient to make even good men's heads turn giddy. From the very constitution of the society, whose claims to universal patronage we have presumed to examine, it must every year be growing more and more independent, not only of the original contributors, but also of the auxiliaries; and it must also be acquiring a more extensive influence over the ministers of the gospel in the United States. Let us suppose that some twenty or thirty years hence, one half of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church shall have been educated under this system, and that the bonds of many of them remain unpaid in the hands of the Directors in the vicinity of Boston, and that in these circumstances a proposition were made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, to change some important feature in her discipline or doctrines, and that the Directors of the American Education Society were known to think favorably of these changes—what would be the consequence? We all know how wonderfully interest influences the opinions even of good men, and how prone they are to coincide in sentiment with those on whom they are dependent.

We are far from intimating that any such influence is now intended to be attained, and if it were attained, that it would be improperly used. We have the happiness to be personally acquainted with some of the Directors of this great concern, and we know the reputation of all; and we believe them to be as pure in their intentions, as single in their purpose, and as devoted to the cause of evangelical piety, as any men on

earth ; and we disclaim any knowledge of a single act in their management of this great charity which has the most remote sectarian bearing. But the confidence justly reposed in their integrity, has a tendency to throw into their hands unlimited power ; and this power will be delivered to their successors, and from the nature of the case, will be a rich blessing, or a tremendous curse to posterity. What security have we, that this mighty engine of life or death, of salvation or perdition, will for half a century remain in the hands of men possessing the same spirit ? We answer, none, except the integrity and prudence of frail man. The promise of God assures us that he will always have a Church. But whether the descendents of this family or that family, the successors in this corporation or that corporation, shall maintain the pure doctrines of the gospel, and feel their power, we know not.

3. The first article in the constitution of the American Education Society, defining the manner of obtaining membership, connected with the second, authorizing the Directors to form a permanent fund of "bequests, legacies, donations, and grants, thus appropriated by the donors," and of any other property of the Society, at pleasure, we consider very liable to abuse, and highly dangerous. The first article is as follows : viz. "Any person who shall subscribe, and shall pay into the treasury at one time, one hundred dollars, or if a clergyman, forty dollars, shall be an honorary member ; and shall have a right to sit and deliberate in all meetings of the Society. But all members hereafter added to the Society *who shall be entitled to vote, shall be chosen by ballot*, at an annual meeting."

To this article, we should have no material objection, if it were not connected with permanent funds of an indefinite amount ; because there would be little or no temptation to abuse ; but as it is so connected, it appears truly alarming. We are disposed to attribute the origin of this article to the

best motives ; to suppose (for we have no knowledge of the fact) it was intended, by giving the present members the power of choosing their successors, to prevent the management of the Society from passing into unfaithful hands. Whatever may be the effect of this arrangement in preventing or retarding the perversion of the funds from the original purpose, it certainly increases the power of the Officers and Directors to an almost unlimited extent. It enables them, if so disposed, to select the persons who are to vote in choosing Officers and Directors ; so that in fact they might as well be elected for life, with the power of nominating their own successors. Suppose that at any time a majority of the acting members of the Society are in favor of the measures adopted by the Directors, the Directors can, through their friends, have new voting members chosen, favorable to the same course ; so that it will in the end amount to the same thing, as to give the Directors the power of appointing their successors. The distant members, who have a right to vote, can seldom attend the anniversaries ; so that from the nature of the case, the election of officers and new members, can always be under the control of those residing near the place of holding the annual meetings. If at any time, the concerns of the Society should be mismanaged, it is evident from the very terms of the compact, that the branches and distant contributors, have no means of effecting a reformation ; because they have voluntarily surrendered their rights into the hands of a body politic in the State of Massachusetts. And as this corporation can hold real estate, whose annual income shall equal ten thousand dollars ; can increase permanent funds, and scholarships, to any extent ; can dispose at pleasure of the annual surplus of the auxiliaries, and the monies returned by beneficiaries, and has also a veto on the appropriations of the branches ; its power must become immense.* And the organization is so adjusted, the machinery

* See Rules, Chapter vi. 9.

is so admirably arranged as to concentrate the whole power in a single point ; so that the hand of an infant, touching a lever in Boston, can control, and manage, and direct the whole Christian community, south and west of the Connecticut, interested in this concern.

As long as the Directors remain, such as we believe they now are, intelligent, active, and devoted to the cause of evangelical doctrine and vital piety, every thing, which the interests of the Church and of the world demand, will be done. But if the fountain should by any means become corrupt ; if the mighty reservoir, whose streams are intended to pervade and refresh, and fertilize every part of our vast territory, and even to flow to Africa and Asia, and regions yet unexplored, should be poisoned, how shall its deadly overflowings be checked ; what antidote can be cast in to restore the salubrity of the waters ? No human power or human skill, it seems to us, can be of any avail ; because no external force can touch the internal spring which moves the whole machine. Let the American Education Society proceed as it has commenced ; let it accumulate in its own hands all the funds destined for the education of pious, indigent young men, and then the character and qualification of a large portion of the ministers of the gospel in the United States, will be suspended on the piety and integrity of a few men located in the same vicinity. Every man, and every corporation, think power to be safe in their own hands. But who can guarantee that no change will take place in the sentiments and character of the next, or succeeding generation ? It may happen, (for it has often happened,) that one man of talents and influence, may change the religious views and feelings of a whole neighborhood or city. If such a change should take place in the Board of Directors, how shall the sacred funds of the American Education Society be snatched from their grasp ? The danger of committing permanent funds of a large

amount into the hands of bodies politic, from the frequency of perversion, has become proverbial. No guards or precautions, heretofore invented, have been found effectual. And what security, not previously tried in vain, is given in the case before us? We say, none. The power is in the hands of a few men, not responsible to the donors nor to the Christian community at large, responsible only to the voting members of the Society, whom they can create at pleasure. The security is even less than what has repeatedly been ineffectual. Funds devoted to sacred uses, and guarded with creeds and formularies, and subscriptions, have been perverted from the object of the pious donors; and that, too, when those into whose hands they originally came, were men of incorruptible integrity and ardent piety. We could appeal to a well known instance, in the vicinity of Boston. Can it be a doubtful question, whether the funds belonging to the Hollis Professorship in Harvard University, are now used for a purpose totally at variance with the intention of the original founder? Who could have thought fifty years ago, that so entire a change would have taken place in the sentiments of those who manage the concerns of that venerable and splendidly endowed institution?

Piety and talents are the only qualifications prescribed in the charter and constitution, to limit the appropriation of the funds belonging to the American Education Society. Admitting that genuine piety is one of the best religious tests that can be proposed; yet the opinions of men are so various respecting it, that this qualification cannot possibly be any restraint to a corporation, wishing to introduce into the ministry, young men hostile to the fundamental principles and spirit of the gospel. We would confide in the judgment of the present Directors, and also of their examining committees, as far as they are known, yet we must again repeat,—we know not who are to be their successors.

As this institution is intended to “*continue for genera-*

tions and ages to come," and as consequences the most tremendous, that can be conceived, must follow from a perversion from its original design, it becomes us to examine well the foundation on which its security from abuse rests. We ought not to be dazzled with its wonderful success and the good which it has already achieved, so as to lose sight of remote consequences. We should recollect the profound remark of the Roman Senator, *Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt*. Nations never voluntarily resign their liberties into the hands of a known tyrant. They must be dazzled with the splendour of foreign victories—They must see the spoils of conquered cities brought home in his triumphant chariot.—They must share in the corn and the wine he distributes in profusion—and then they will hail him as their master, and bind themselves with chains, which neither they nor their children's children can burst asunder. Religious vassalage is commenced and consummated in the same manner. An open and confessed heretic seldom begins the work of corruption; but he succeeds to the confidence and power acquired by some zealous and faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, and then he employs the authority with which he is invested in spreading around him moral pestilence and death. Men of corrupt principles have not usually zeal enough to commence a religious charity, or liberality enough to contribute the necessary funds: but when the funds are collected, they see an object sufficient to excite their ambition, and they are not deficient in expedients to gain the management and control of what men of a different spirit have accumulated. Suppose such an event should happen in regard to the American Education Society—it is not more unlikely than some things that have occurred in the same vicinity not fifty years ago—and then all the power and resources now lodged in the hands of the present gifted and eminently devoted Secretary, and of his equally distinguished counsellors, would be brought to bear against the cause of evangelical

doctrine and vital piety. It would remain for the friends of gospel principles, stripped of the means provided by their pious predecessors to weep and pray in secret. They must again retreat to the mountains and retired vallies, recruit and discipline their forces, and again come forth and meet an enemy formidable in numbers, insolent with victory, and clad in burnished armor recently seized by stratagem.

For reasons similar to these stated, there are many intelligent and influential men belonging to the Presbyterian Church, who cannot connect themselves with the fortunes of the A. E. Society. They see and feel the importance of the general object, but they dread the dangers to which they conceive this institution is exposed. They dislike also, the negligence and want of energy which have hitherto characterized the proceedings of the General Assembly's Board of Education, and they are now waiting with anxious and prayerful interest the result of the new organization. It is believed the Churches are ready to sustain the exertions of the Board, if an active, intelligent, and faithful agent would lay before them the want of able and well furnished ministers in the Presbyterian Church. And if there be evils and dangers connected with the operations of the A. E. Society, (as we verily believe there are,) they are not to be corrected and averted by finding fault and complaining, but by immediate and spirited exertion. The work to be done is important and urgent. Those who love our Lord Jesus Christ, will not listen with indifference to the calls for ministers of the Gospel, by whatever agent they are communicated. And if a channel for their liberality, such as they would prefer, be not speedily opened, it will flow in some other way.

Perhaps it may be asked, whether funds in the hands of the Board of Education will not be liable to the same abuse dreaded in the hands of the A. E. Society. We answer, No. First, because if young men be educated by

the Presbyterian Church, they will not be under the influence of a foreign institution, and in the deliberations of her judicatories, they will be at liberty in all matters to decide according to the dictates of their own judgment and conscience, unawed by the frowns of a displeased creditor. In the next place the General Assembly which appoints the Board of Education is not a permanent and fixed body. It does not elect its own members. It is annually dissolved, and a new Assembly is chosen by the Presbyteries in various parts of the United States, each member expressing the views and wishes of the Churches he represents, and accountable for every vote he gives. For this reason it is impossible that funds deposited in the hands of the Assembly for a sacred purpose, can be perverted from their original object, until the whole Church, or at least a large majority of the Presbyteries become corrupt. And if permanent funds for religious purposes be secure from perversion any where, it is under the management of a body thus constituted. And further, business is not conducted in the General Assembly in the same manner as in the annual meetings of voluntary associations. Here the reports of different Boards are read, and submitted to a rigid examination. All their plans and acts are canvassed, and if any thing be radically wrong, it is competent to the Assembly to change the members of the Board. In the annual meetings of the other, there is, strictly speaking, no deliberation or examination of the measures pursued. The report of the Directors is read, eulogies prepared for the occasion, are pronounced, and a vote of approbation passed by acclamation. There is, in reality, no meeting of the contributors, nor of their representatives, but only of the voting members chosen by those who had the previous management of the concern, drilled to respond Aye or No, as they may have been previously instructed. We do not say any thing like this has taken place. Our perfect confidence in the integrity of the Directors, forbids the slightest sus-

picion. Our meaning is, that there is nothing in the constitution, or in the manner of conducting the annual meetings calculated to prevent it. We have discharged an important, and in some respects an unpleasant duty. We had long noticed things in the arrangements of the American Education Society which seemed strange and novel ; but so full was our persuasion of the importance of the sacred cause, in which it was laboring, that we did not dare permit ourselves to think there was any error. A closer examination of the constitution and rules, has convinced us that so imminent are the dangers connected with the operations of that Society, it would be treason to the cause of piety, any longer to be silent. We have not designedly distorted a single feature of the great Society whose claims to universal patronage we have canvassed. And we most devoutly pray God, that none of the evils anticipated may ever happen, that the exertions of the Society, in a cause so noble and sacred may be a rich and lasting blessing to the Church and to the world.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large numbers ; as practised at Hazelwood School. Second edition. London, 1827.

THEORIES of Education are of all theories the most useless ; nay, sometimes positively pernicious. The general principles of the science, if science it may be called, are, in fact, the principles of the science of the human mind, with which, not only every pedagogue, (whether schoolmaster, tutor, or professor,) but every man whose business brings him into collision with his fellow minds should be well acquainted.

Notwithstanding all the plans, and systems, and discoveries in this department, which have been ushered into the world, within the last fifty years, with so much pomp and assurance, we are still of opinion that much fewer substantial improvements have been made than is generally supposed. The solid glories of the more antiquated, "monastic," and labor-imposing methods, under which the gigantic minds of the last century were formed, are not entirely eclipsed by the more modern, "cheerful," "practical," and labor-saving methods which would clamourously oust their predecessors from their long undisputed possessions.

We are thus sceptical, because we are tolerably well acquainted with the difficulties of education. These difficulties, which we cannot now stop to enumerate, spring from the character of the pupil, from the parent or guardian, from the

public sentiment, and especially from the character and qualifications of the teachers and governors.

In regard to the pupils, no *two* can be found to whom precisely the same system is adapted. Every parent knows this even in a small family. If fifty, eighty, one hundred, or two hundred pupils are congregated together, the difficulties of successful government are greatly increased, and, we might add, in a geometrical, rather than in an arithmetical ratio.

In regard to parents, every one who begins to look around him for a suitable school for his boys, has his own crude views of education, to which no school in existence is sufficiently conformed. One school is too near, another is too remote; one is too rigid, another is too lax; one teaches every thing, another teaches nothing; one is too cheap, another is too dear; one is too republican, another is too aristocratical; one has too many pupils, another has too few; one is too formal and ostentatious, another is too simple and unassuming. There are some parents whose expectations in regard to their children, never will be realized, because it is impossible, in the nature of things, that they ever should be. The teacher has a hard task of it, if he attempts to please *all*; a painful one, if he succeeds in pleasing *a few*; and a most servile one, if he is able, by means which a man of sterling dignity and independence would scorn to use, to call forth the praises of *the majority*.

Public sentiment, in our land at least, sways the sceptre. It is not only difficult, but, in many cases, impossible for a teacher to array himself against this hydra. Or, if he has the hardihood to attempt it, he retires from the contest with a good conscience and a prospect of starvation.

The excitement on the subject of education, which pervades, at present, the civilized world, will, if it receive a right direction, undoubtedly exert a favourable influence upon the public sentiment. Already the standard of intel-

lectual culture has been elevated ; the bearing of education upon individual and national prosperity has been better appreciated ; the employment of a teacher of youth is assuming the rank which it deserves ; a higher degree of moral as well as intellectual worth is beginning to be expected in those who occupy stations of such influence ; and the press teems with essays, which are leading to the adoption of important plans, and the modification of existing systems, to meet the additional demands of the present age.

On this score, the difficulties which the instructor has to encounter are immensely serviceable to the community, because they render it necessary for him to strain every nerve in forming and sustaining his intellectual character. But in some particulars the public sentiment is exerting a somewhat deleterious influence. We have no doubt that this influence will be temporary, because it is in the nature of most abuses to work out their own remedy. We allude, among other things, to the fashion, which seems to us to be in a good degree countenanced by the public sentiment, of placing, with all due parade, our public or private schools, upon the shoulders of some sixty or eighty sturdy sons of literature, who condescend to carry and recommend the bantling as a child of extraordinary promise.

In regard to the character and qualifications of an instructor, we hope to be able to say something below ; and will only add, that we are deliberately of opinion, that not one in a hundred is " cut out " for a teacher of youth, and not one in a thousand, for a good disciplinarian.

The number of schools for the education of boys, in this country and in Europe, so far from affording any ground for discouragement to the teacher, who may wish to try his fortune in this way, may be hailed as an auspicious omen. It indicates a general degree of interest in the subject, an excitement, a public feeling and countenance. That the supply of pupils is likely to fail, at least on this side of the At-

lantic, where every circumstance encourages population, will certainly not be pretended by our wisest political economists. We allude to this, for the consolation of well-meaning pedagogues, who are fearful that before the year 1840, there will be more schools than pupils.

Besides, we are inclined to believe, and experience is daily confirming us in this belief, that there may be more than *one* method of educating boys—even those of the same standing and prospects in life. All may be *substantially* right, or embrace enough of good to stamp the character of excellence and usefulness upon them ; while the particular means employed to attain this end, may differ widely from each other, and would seem to promise very different, and even opposite results. It would not be safe to conclude, that of so many apparently conflicting systems, a few only can be valuable, while the far greater number are specious and hollow. Many of these institutions adapt themselves to a particular description of pupils, and aim to supply some acknowledged deficiency ; or, as in our own case, are designed to meet some peculiar demand, growing out of the singular and interesting attitude of the Republic.

The various modes of education, which justly claim our regard on account of their amount of solid usefulness, and their long continued success, are not like straight paths, of which one alone can ever reach an object from a given point. They are bye-paths, remote at times from each other, and leading through plains, or forests, or flowery fields ; over the noisy brook or the silent river ; by the mountain side, or through lofty passes ; but all arriving at the wished for land. One traveller, it is true, may reach this spot, torn by the brambles, bespattered with mud, and emaciated with toil ; and another may arrive there as clean and fresh, and nice, as if he had just emerged “from my Lady’s band box.” Still they are *there*,—liberally educated. The only difference, (no small matter we confess,) will be, that *one* is cal-

culated to become an intellectual Hercules ; the *other*, a pretty little compliant Ganymedes.

For the same reason as we confidently believe, and not from the mere pertinacity of prejudice, some institutions for the education of boys, (those of Eton and Westminster, for example,) have pursued a steady and undeviating course, undisturbed by the projected innovations, or the clamours for reform—venerable as their moss-grown towers and massive edifices ; whilst others of very recent origin, and just launching forth upon the tide of experiment, have listened to the expression of popular opinion, have bowed to the influence of existing political institutions, have regarded the changes in the aspect of society, and the noisy demands for a modified system of education.

In England and Wales, the Endowed Grammar Schools are about 500 in number. Amid such a galaxy, only here and there a star of first magnitude can show its face ; such, for example, as Eton, Westminster, and Winchester. These venerable establishments, founded by royal or private liberality, and originally designed for the service of the Church, have educated, as scholars on the foundation, and as “ Oppidans,” some of the brightest luminaries in every department that have ever shone upon Great Britain. The Greek and Latin classics (let our anti-classical men ruminate on this) have ever been cultivated here with eminent success. They are characterized by a rigid attention to the Greek and Latin quantities and metres. At Westminster, a boy must be able to repeat the greater portion of the Westminster Greek and Latin Grammar from memory, at the time of his admission ; and no instruction is provided in the French and Mathematics.

These seminaries have necessarily been fettered by the requisitions of their original charters ; and, like the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, have preserved a great degree of uniformity in the form of discipline and mode of instruction.

In a country where classical attainments are the only passport to distinction in literary life, and the number is so great of those who can afford the expense of a thorough classical education, such seminaries are immensely valuable. They occupy a very important part in the wide field, the whole of which ought to be assiduously cultivated.

We cannot, therefore, join in the outcry, recently raised, against these seminaries, as "monastic" establishments, some six or eight centuries behind the improvements of this "practical" age, and oppressing the intellectual energies with a load of Greek and Latin, to the exclusion of more palatable and congenial food. These objections may be traced, sometimes to malevolence and envy; sometimes to levity and superficialness; sometimes to a distaste for severer intellectual toil; and, not unfrequently, to sheer ignorance of the primary object of an elementary education, which aims to draw forth and invigorate the expanding energies of the mind, and not merely to furnish it with a knowledge of insulated facts, very useful, we admit, in their proper time and place, and furnishing materials upon which the well disciplined intellect may employ itself with success, at a subsequent period.

In France the schools for boys are closely interwoven with the other parts of the grand system of education, and form, together with them, "*The University of France.*" This immense establishment stretches its branches over every part of the kingdom, regulating and controlling every institution for education, with the exception of those connected with the public military and naval service. Its ramifications are exceedingly minute, and a large body of men is exclusively occupied in the management of its concerns. The Royal Council of Public Instruction, with the minister of ecclesiastical affairs at its head, holds its periodical meetings, and has a number of subordinate officers for the management of its complicated business. The academies, twenty-six in number, amongst which "the Academy of Paris" stands

forth in bold relief ; the colleges, the institutions, the boarding houses, and primary schools, are all inseparable parts of this stupendous system. The academies, which are scattered in different parts of the kingdom, are visited regularly by the Inspectors General of the University, who are vested with full authority to examine the condition of each academy and its appendages. So that the movements of every establishment for education in France, must be subject to the control of the council, and its connexion with the University must be avowed and unreserved.

It is obvious that a fearful amount of influence over the minds and character of an immense population, is thus deposited in the hands of the monarch and his minions. The elevation or degradation of a whole people hangs upon the nod of a fellow-worm. On the other hand, by a wise administration, this connexion of the several parts of the system with one another and with the whole, this gradation of intellectual culture, this playing of one institution into the hands of another, may subserve the most important ends. The dependance of all the inferior schools upon the University and the Royal Council, represses individual enterprise, which frequently leads to valuable improvements. On the other hand, it prevents the impositions, so repeatedly practised, upon the credulous public, by ignorant pretenders or designing knaves, who catch the attention by some novel but futile plan, and expend their useless or pernicious labors on the most delicate materials ever committed to the care of man.

In Germany, where the most refined intellectual culture and the most grovelling ignorance are cherished side by side ; where the light of science and the literary ferment which prevails in one portion of the community, serves, by its contrast, to deepen the darkness and to aggravate the stupidity which broods over the other ; where literature, the sciences, and the arts, when unconnected with politics, secure the patronage of dukes, electors and monarchs, and fur-

nish the restless spirits of the community with a pleasurable and honorable employment: where the number of well-endowed universities is unparalleled, and the host of keensighted and industrious professors is almost incredible; where a constant demand for intellectual efforts of the highest order is created and cherished, and the success of distinguished talents and attainments is inevitable, it was natural to expect, that the systems of education designed to prepare the boy for the enlarged sphere of the university studies, would partake of the general impulse. We find, accordingly a profusion of these preparatory schools or "*Gymnasias*," scattered throughout the principalities and kingdoms of Germany, which are still bound together by the bond of a common language. They are more or less subjected to the control of the governments under which they are established, according to the degree of liberality in their political systems. In all, however, they are sufficiently unfettered to answer the more important end of education. In some instances, the royal, ducal, or electoral patronage serves only to secure, more unequivocally, their numerous and superior advantages. In the Prussian dominions, special legislative enactments have a bearing upon the literary and moral character of the teachers, which tends to exclude the mischievous effects of incompetency, while it leaves the corps of well-informed and well-meaning instructors to employ their best talents and attainments in the training of the youth committed to their care. Individual enterprise is repressed in no degree that can call for a just complaint.

The *Gymnasias* of Germany may be regarded in the light of a psychological experiment, to ascertain to what extent the cultivation of the intellectual powers can be advanced, by their seasonable and judicious application to the several objects best adapted to this purpose. The present operation of the system certainly is, to throw the mental and coporeal faculties of the boy into the most favorable circumstances for their full and unlimited developement.

That the best Gymnasias of Germany advance the pupil, by the time he has attained his fifteenth or sixteenth year, provided he has been confided to their care at a period sufficiently early, far beyond the limits which bound our college course, is no more than might naturally be expected from the principles and operation of the system. We speak here of the general character and tendency of these German Gymnasias. We do not wish to touch the question of the adaptedness of these institutions, with *all* their German excrescences, to the wants of our own country. On this point we have more than *one* doubt.

The Gymnasias of Elberfeld, Nordhausen, and Dresden, are probably the best known in this country. In these, every hour has its appropriate employment. The nobler objects to be attained by this regularity of employment, dignify the employment itself, and raise it above the irksome monotony of the illiberal arts. The external arrangements which strike the eye, are all adapted to gratify the sense of the beautiful, and to cultivate taste. The collisions of intellect, sharpen the wit. The vigorous exercises of the body, which constitute an essential part of the system, give firmness to health; and the diffusive stimulus of health imparts a zest to study. Idleness with its baleful retinue of immoralities is not tolerated for a moment.

Our limits forbid us to pursue the subject into Italy, and other foreign countries, from whose systems of Education many useful hints might be suggested to the projectors of new plans. Looking abroad upon our own country, we are presented with a curious spectacle. We behold a large number of systems, in full operation, side by side; teachers from almost every nation under heaven, with their peculiar pedagogical notions; no legislative enactments to regulate the qualifications of the higher order of instructors; private enterprise, with its irresistible allurements, open to all; and not a few keen "speculators," ready to flatter parents with the prospect of initiating their children, in the

twinkling of an eye, without the toil imposed by other teachers, into all the refinements of a language, or the abstruseness of a science. Startling as this republican state of things may be at the first view, experience has convinced us, that in a *free* country, this is the only way in which the ultimate advantages for which we labor, can be secured.

Passing by our Colleges, which may be regarded as schools preparatory to a professional education, or to the studies of a University, properly so called; passing by, also, our Academies, and private Seminaries, and classical institutes, (some of which are an honor to our land,) and the numerous institutions, designed to furnish the means of a limited education, at a moderate expense: we shall limit ourselves to a few remarks on the military schools, which are independent of the Government, and are designed to educate our youth, under the influence of a military system, for the peaceful occupations of civil life.

Against the military discipline and instructions of the West Point Academy, under the control of the Government, and for the service of the country, in a military capacity, no reasonable objection can be made. And in the observations we design to offer upon the system, as adopted and enforced under other circumstances, we desire to be understood as awaiting the issue of the experiment, which, possibly, may prove our objections to be utterly groundless.

The principal advantages insisted on by the advocates of the military system of education, we believe to be the following: The healthful exercise of the body, which it secures; the practical acquaintance which it furnishes, with an art, about which, (say they,) every citizen ought to know something; the assistance which it affords in the government of youth; the manliness of deportment which it inspires; the ability which it gives to the foreign tourist, of judging correctly of the military systems of other countries, which knowledge, (say they,) would prove of incalculable advan-

tage to our country, *in case of war*; the light which this knowledge of military tactics throws upon the pages of ancient and modern history; (the reader of Herodotus and Thucydides, for example, will be able to marshal, upon paper, the combatants at Marathon and Plataea, and project the famous siege of Syracuse under Nicias;) and, above all, "the practical turn" that it communicates to the studies and energies of our youth, which, (say they,) admirably fits them for their duties as men.

A large number of enlightened citizens, who cannot be accused of a pertinacious adherence to established forms, have expressed their fears in regard to the influence of a military education upon the taste and predilections of our youth, and have avowed their preference of a mode of education, more civil in its character. And if the proposed advantages of the military plan, so far as they are real and valuable, can be secured, and every possible disadvantage, avoided, by the operation of any other system, their preference is, to say the least, a reasonable one.

The invigorating influence of military exercises upon the corporeal frame, will not be disputed. But experience has satisfactorily shown, in our own land, and more particularly in Germany, that the full developement of every portion of the human frame, the most elastic and vigorous health, and all that is desirable in the government of youth, can be secured without the aid of military discipline.

And whether it be a solid advantage to the community, that its citizens should be early imbued with a military knowledge and spirit, in reference to some hypothetical demand for their services in future life, admits of doubt with every serious statesman, who is acquainted with the history of past republics.

And the supposed practical utility of the military art, especially in time of peace, is no greater, to say the least, than that of many others of a more civil character, the

knowledge of which, may promote, essentially, the comfort and interests of ourselves, our friends, and our country. Such, however, is the constitution of society, that the wheel-right, the blacksmith, the ship-carpenter, and the soldier, must continue to benefit the community by their exclusive pursuits; while the more intellectual portion of society, must content themselves with ignorance, when knowledge can be purchased only by the sacrifice of those peculiar and almost exclusive attainments, which ennobled the mind of a Newton, a Boyle, a Bentley, a Porson, a Johnson, a Burke, or a Pitt.

With regard to "the practical turn," which the military system of education communicates to the studies of our youth, and the obvious tendency of our country at large to undervalue every thing in education, the immediate bearing of which, upon the active business of life, is not directly manifest, we acknowledge and deplore the fact; while we feel persuaded, that every additional year of our national existence and prosperity, will diminish the influence of these views, and place the purely intellectual pursuits, and literary attainments, upon their proper basis.

In the education of youth who are designed for the higher departments of intellectual life, where intellectual vigor is certainly not less desirable than attainments in knowledge, the short and precious period of preparation, when, if ever, the mind must be formed, its energies awakened, and its powers enlarged and prepared for efficient application to the business of the future man, cannot, consistently, be devoted to the acquisition of a knowledge of insulated facts, however valuable they may prove at a future day. And it may reasonably be doubted, whether the time consumed in long military marches and encampments, or in wheeling a machine for the measurement of distances, on the mail route from Maine to Georgia, be spent in the most profitable manner for those whose military pursuits must cease on their departure from the military school.

Again ; the inflexible discipline, to which the soldier is inured, however necessary in a well-ordered army, in the unity of whose operations the safety of a state may depend, is not so obviously adapted to the government of a school of boys. The government in this case may be firm, and the discipline as inflexible as the circumstances may demand, and the motives may be brought to bear upon the moral sense, without the mechanical operation of a military system. It may be doubted, indeed, whether in such a system the moral powers are sufficiently appealed to, and whether the ideas of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, of honor and dishonor, of greatness and littleness, are not regulated simply according to the degree of obedience or disobedience to the imperious commands of a superior ; whether the restraint be not too mechanical, and the principles too conventional ; whether, upon the removal of this restraint, and the relinquishment of these principles, a reckless indulgence in vice, accompanied by an astonishing destitution of *moral* principle, be not the unhappy consequence ; and whether the subdued feeling of respect, the genuine sense of honor, the fixedness of principle, and the due estimation of our own importance as moral, intellectual, and accountable beings, which are created and fostered by a judicious exercise of *parental* discipline, be not inexpressibly more valuable.

So far, also, as our own observation has extended, the undue importance which these seminaries attach to military science and its auxiliary branches, leads, and perhaps necessarily so, to a very low estimate of the value of literary attainments. To enlarge upon the beneficial effects of a zealous cultivation of literature, upon individual happiness and national character, and on the necessity of combining studies of a literary character, with those of a more scientific cast, in the education of youth, and in the riper pursuits of manhood, would call us away too far from our present object. It will suffice barely to hint at this objection, for we

are fully persuaded that our readers will at once appreciate its importance.

A few words upon another feature of the military school, which will serve to account, in some measure, for its attractiveness and popularity, with inexperienced boys, and weak parents, apart from any intrinsic value it may possess. A company of boys, (we had almost said children,) is paraded through our towns and villages, to the sound of the spirit-stirring fife and drum, with colors floating in the breeze, with nodding plumes, and martial tread. They are greeted with the roar of cannon, like veterans returning from the field of victory. They are feasted, toasted, exhibited, and escorted. A tilt and tournament of the olden time of chivalrous achievement, could scarcely have assembled such an admiring rabble. Can it be a matter of astonishment, that the peaceful children of the town or village should lay aside their paper caps and wooden guns, and long to shoulder a real musquet? That even gray-headed parents should be captivated by the imposing parade, and the flattering attentions, with which these liliputian warriors are received? And that the pupils themselves, especially if the Principal of the establishment has been bred a soldier, and glows with all the enthusiasm of his profession, should gradually be impressed with the belief, that science, as distinguished from literature, is not only exclusively valuable, but chiefly so, on account of its bearing upon, and connexion with, the cultivation of military studies?

We have yet to call the attention of our readers to a school for the education of boys, which has attained to some degree of notoriety, in England. We allude to the "Hazelwood School," to describe and to recommend which, seems to have been the laudable object of the work of nearly 400 pages, which stands at the head of this article.

This school was established about fourteen years since, in

the neighborhood of Birmingham, by Mr. T. W. Hill ; to whom, and to some of his sons, engaged with him in this enterprise, we are indebted for the very sensible book which explains, with great minuteness of detail, the daily proceedings of the seminary, and unfolds some very valuable views on the theory and practice of education.

The disciples of Dr. Buzby, of flogging memory, would have laughed at the idea, that the government and discipline of a large school, embracing one hundred and twenty boys, might be successfully conducted, without the interference of the rod. But they would have pronounced the man to be "non compos mentis," who should venture to assert that this government and discipline may be safely entrusted to the boys themselves. Such, however, is the bold experiment which is now making at the "Hazelwood School."

This School embraces ten resident teachers. At a weekly conference, the amount and mode of instruction are determined. Here the authority of the teachers terminates. The boys select from their own number a committee of fourteen, whose business is to legislate for this little community, and to appoint the school officers. The Principal of the school reserves the privilege of a *veto* upon the general laws of the institution. Over the appointment of the officers, he has no control. These officers are : the Judge, the Magistrate, the Sheriff, the Keeper of the Records, the Prosecutor General, and the Defender General. The Judge nominates the Clerk and Crier of the court, and the Magistrate nominates his two Constables.

It would be marvellous, indeed, if the bosom of this little community were never disturbed by unhallowed passions ; —if a petit-larceny, or a case of defamation, or an assault and battery, should never furnish the officers with an opportunity of exercising their authority. A jury-court is holden every Wednesday afternoon, and at other times upon extraordinary occasions. A jury of six is empanelled.

When the challenging is finished, the cause is tried—the witnesses are heard, the plea is conducted, the jury is charged, the verdict is returned, and the defendant is acquitted or condemned with all the grave ceremonials of a legal proceeding. The jury must keep fast until it is unanimously agreed. In one instance on record, these patient little jurors fasted from breakfast-time until a quarter past eight in the evening! The other departments of the school are declared, in the book before us, to be conducted with the strictest regard to economy of time.

This system is plausible, and even captivating, in its general outlines, when the difficulties which encumber it in its practical operations are veiled from our view. Those, however, who have been engaged in the government of youth, are well aware of the universal agitation which is occasioned by the arraignment of one of their number. An intense interest is awakened. Every faculty is absorbed. It is proverbially a season of indifference to study. Add to this, the formal informations, the preparation of indictments, the procuring of witnesses, the instructing of the counsel, the prolix operations of a jury court, and the cautious management of appeals, indispensable to the due administration of justice, and we are constrained to ask, what amount of valuable time is thus consumed? What encroachments are thus made upon the regular studies? What grudges are thus engendered? What secret and counteracting combinations are formed? And how far will these circumstances prove an obstacle to the intellectual and moral culture of the pupils?

The information thus obtained, in regard to judicial processes, and the glowing interest imparted to the debates and pleadings of this little court, whose proceedings are regarded by the boys themselves as involving the dearest rights of their community, are inexpressibly valuable. All these advantages, however, and many more which might be spe-

cified, can be secured, and the disadvantages, above-mentioned, avoided, by the preparation of an extraordinary trial, when the Principal can select a case whose issue will be favorable to the discipline and order of the school, while it acquaints the Pupil with the legal process, and relieves the monotony of the school-exercises.

We cannot disguise our suspicions, however, that there is here "a wheel within a wheel"—some master hand, turning the crank at the centre, of which the rest of the machinery, as well as the by-standers, are totally unconscious. If so, then the book before us proves what we have long been disposed to believe, that the *system* is comparatively of little importance, provided a master-spirit is at the head. The man shows off the system, and not the system the man. The jury-court system, in any other hands than Mr. Hill's, would, in all probability, present quite a different appearance.

There is one feature of this establishment with which we are exceedingly pleased. The teachers form a council for frequent deliberation upon all points suggested by their daily experience. This council, amenable to no higher board, discuss freely whatever is proposed, improve *immediately* what is susceptible of improvement, supply what is defective,—in a word, add, subtract, and variously modify the system, as the stubborn circumstances demand, without the delay necessarily incurred by waiting some six months or two years, for the approbatory sanction of a superior body, composed, as is sometimes the case, of every kind of men but teachers, and well acquainted with every other business, but the enactment of laws for the government of youth.

The following extract reminds us of Dr. Parr's (if we mistake not) unconquerable aversion to the abolishment of pugilistic contests; while he so far acceded to the improving spirit of the age as to discourage these combats by word and law; but, at the same time, permitted a "fight" when

the combatants went to work on a certain spot, conveniently situated to enable him to see and enjoy the "fun" from his study-window. The passage also leads us to surmise that if this little self-governing community should be generally tinctured with such sentiments, the pugilistic predilections of boyhood would carry the day.

"It would be in vain to attempt any concealment of the fact, that our pupils, like all boys in the full tide of health and spirits, do not always see the folly of an appeal to the *ultima ratio regum* in so strong a light as that in which it *sometimes* appears to older eyes; and resort is now and then had to trial by combat, in preference to trial by jury. The candid and experienced teacher, who knows the difficulty and the danger of too rigorously suppressing natural impulses, will not censure us for endeavouring rather to regulate this custom, than to destroy it altogether. In the hope of lessening the number of these *fracas*, (never very large,) a law was proposed, which the Committee adopted, to render it penal for any person, except the Magistrate, to be present at a battle. Six hours' notice must be given by both parties, and a tax paid in advance. During the interval, it is the duty of the Magistrate to attempt a reconciliation. These regulations were intended to give opportunity for the passions to cool, and to check the inclination for display which is often the sole cause of the disturbance. We consider the effect on the minds of the spectators as the worst part of the transaction. There is something dreadfully brutalizing in the shouts of incitement and triumph which generally accompany a feat of pugilism. Neither boys nor men ought ever to witness pain without sympathy. It is almost needless to say, that, with us, fighting is any thing rather than a source of festivity and amusement.

"If a pugilistic contest should take place without due notice having been given, the parties are liable to a heavy fine, and it is the duty of the eldest boy present, under a heavy penalty, to convey immediate information to the Magistrate, that the parties may be separated.

"These regulations were made in April 1821. During the first few months, the number of battles did not appear to be materially checked, four contests of the kind having taken place between April and July in the same year; but from July 1821, to the present time, (April 1825,) two battles only have been fought, according to the regulations laid down. It is true that a few other contests have ta-

ken place, or rather have commenced, without notice being given; but in every instance early information has been conveyed to the Magistrate, who has immediately separated the belligerents. We have reason to be confident in stating that no contest of this latter kind ever lasted two minutes." p. 33.

We most decidedly object to the foppery of some of our modern schools—those preconcerted tricks intended merely to make an impression upon the susceptible public. Enter some of these schools, (whose superior advantages the portentous recommendations, and the splendid prospectuses have already proclaimed far and wide,) and some imposing manœuvre must be forthwith gone through with, with the exactness, it may be, of clock-work, (which we like exceedingly in its place,) for the purpose of captivating the minds of visitors, and impressing them with the desirableness of such a situation for their boys.

We are sorry to see something of this deliberate puffing, and well-planned self-commendation, in the school now under consideration, because we find so many other things which evince real good sense and judgment, as well as an estimable degree of modesty.

The following extract will explain our meaning.

"April 12, 1825. At nine hours and forty-five minutes the bell commenced ringing; the boys being at this time distributed about the premises, and many in the play grounds, some parts of which are 200 yards from the school-room door. At nine hours and forty-seven minutes the bell ceased, and a rally was beaten immediately on the drum. With the ninth and tenth seconds two blows were given; the band was now in readiness. The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth seconds were also marked by blows on the drum. The doors were instantly closed, and the band struck up "Home, sweet home," which the boys accompanied with their voices, giving us the whole of the song, which made this part of the process longer than usual. While the air was playing, at forty-seven minutes and forty seconds, the placard with the word "Place" inscribed upon it was exhibited, at which time all present were in their ranks. At fifty minutes and

forty-five seconds the singing ceased, and a boy immediately called, "Five—forty-five;" meaning that five minutes and forty-five seconds had elapsed since the ringing of the bell commenced. The registrar recorded and repeated the time. *The teller of the eighth rank* then called—"One out of fifteen absent from the eighth rank." *The first boy in the same rank*—"Stamos Nakos."* *The registrar, while recording the name*, "Stamos Nakos." *A member of the band*—"The band fourteen complete." *A teacher*—"Nine decads complete." *The teller of the eighth rank*—"Fourteen;" *The member of the band*—"And fourteen make twenty-eight;" *The teacher*—"And ninety make one hundred and eighteen;" *The registrar*—"And one absentee makes up one hundred and nineteen; which completes the list." *The boy watching the dial*—"Six—ten;" (meaning six minutes and ten seconds from the moment the bell began to ring.) *The registrar*—"Six—ten." *Another boy looking at the dial*—"Twenty-five seconds," (the whole time occupied by the calling and casting.) *The registrar*—"Twenty-five seconds." *The presiding teacher*—"Form." The drummer now beat the drum fifteen times, each interval making a second. In the mean time, all the boys, except one or two, had arrived at their places; in two or three seconds more the ranks were complete; when a boy called out, "I am last." *Teacher*—"Ten;" (meaning that the boy had incurred a fine of ten marks, which was immediately paid to the prefect of the class.) *Teacher*—"March." The band played, and the classes at the same time proceeded to their respective places." p. 87.

The "proceedings of a day," will serve to show the extremely complicated, and somewhat imposing, transactions of the school. It must be recollected, that these forms and ceremonies, marchings, musters, ringing of bells, drumming, &c. &c., are to be superadded to the complex operations of the jury courts and police.

"At six o'clock the bell rings for the boys in general to rise.

"At the three general musters, at those for meals, and at the one for evening prayers, the bell rings two minutes, at other times a few strokes only are sufficient.

"Just before the six o'clock bell rings, a member of the band hav-

* A Greek, who was unwell at the time.

ing received notice from the monitor, goes into the passages which lead to the dormitories, and plays a *reveille* on the Kent bugle, to arouse those who are not already awake.

“All the boys leave their beds at the word of command, which is given as the bell rings; and when dressed, arrange themselves in each room in a certain order for marching down stairs.

“Here it may be well to observe, that in each dormitory there is a teacher, and likewise a superior boy who is called the prefect, with other officers under him, each having the care of a division. The boys who serve the offices of prefect and sub-prefect, have salaries of marks, and are considered as responsible for the behaviour of those who are under their care. If any improper conduct should take place in either of the dormitories, it is the duty of the sub-prefect of the division in which the irregularity may have arisen, to report it to the magistrate at the muster for prayers. If this is not done, the officers themselves are fined, upon the report of the prefect.

“At 6^h. 10^m. the bell rings again, when it is expected that the boys in each room shall stand prepared to march down stairs.

“If this is not the case, the last in each dormitory who takes his place, is reported by the sub-prefect and pays a fine. The boys being arranged, each division under the care of a sub-prefect and all in the same dormitory, under the command of their prefect, the word “march” is given, and the different companies follow each other down stairs in regular order, accompanied by music. Having reached the principal school-room, they form in the order of march, in ten ranks along the parallel lines before-mentioned. As the boys when at a muster always place themselves along these lines, it will be necessary to speak of them again. The shoes are now distributed from baskets, one belonging to each division; having been collected the night before in the same baskets and placed in readiness.

“At 6^h. 15^m. one division of the boys goes to the wash-houses.

“At 6^h. 20^m. a second division goes to the wash-houses, and at 6^h. 25^m. a third division.

“The arrangement of these three divisions which include all the boarders, depends partly on rank, and partly on age. There are two

wash-houses with a supply of water, carried by pipes into every part. The little boys go to the inner apartment, and are washed by servants. Each boy receives a slice of bread as soon as he has left the wash-house.

“ At 6^h. 35^m. Prayers.

“ The business of the muster is gone through in the manner described at p. 82; with this exception; that as the day-boys are not present, their ranks are altogether omitted in the account, and a total made up which includes the boarders only. This is invariably the case at all musters which the day-boys do not join. When the business of the muster has been gone through, the reports of the sub-prefects are made: Prayers are then read. In the selection of these, great care is taken that they shall contain those expressions of devotion only, in which every denomination of Christians may join with perfect sincerity. At the conclusion of prayers, the boys are at liberty.

“ At 6^h. 45^m. the monitor goes round to call any who may be in bed on account of slight indisposition or other causes.

“ At 6^h. 55^m. a rally on the drum.

“ This is to give notice of the general muster to all officers or others who may have preparations to make. Such a signal precedes all general musters and all changes of classes, at an equal interval.

“ At seven o'clock, a general muster, as has been described.

“ Immediately after, the boys form into the reading or into the parsing classes; which alternate every fortnight. In either case, certain boys are drawn off for Latin, and others for French. It is also necessary to remark that the boys in the lower school (ten or twelve in number) do not join these classes, but at all times retire to their own room immediately after the general musters. Here they have a peculiar set of exercises, varying more frequently than those for the other boys. The lowest class of readers consists entirely of foreigners; who, whenever they read, are taught individually, each being placed under a member of a superior class.

“ At 7^h. 30^m. the reading or parsing is discontinued.

"The books are collected, and the classes disperse to prepare for Latin. Five minutes before this time, at the signal on the drum, the three highest boys in each class receive small rewards and are allowed to depart. In one or two of the highest classes, however, where a motive of this kind is not required to excite ardour, it is usual for all the members to remain to the last moment. It must be understood that this mode of proceeding is invariably adopted with respect to the classes throughout the day.

"After ringing the bell the monitor waits a minute: then strikes upon the drum, and the door is closed at the end of twenty seconds, as at the general musters. He then strikes twenty-five blows, each at an interval of a second, during which time, all in the school are expected to join their Latin classes at the parallel lines: if any are too late, the last is fined. At the head of each class hangs a list of the members, which is examined if any doubts arise as to a boy's place. The order to "march" is given, and the classes proceed to their places, stepping in measured time, but without music: the band playing only at certain musters, which will be mentioned. If any boys are excluded by the closing of the door, they are fined by an individual who remains out for the purpose, and are then sent directly to the places where their classes are exercised. The mode of proceeding here detailed is adopted at all changes of classes.

"The Latin classes now go through certain lessons which they have prepared the night before. A few boys who do not learn Latin are engaged throughout the remainder of the morning, some in writing exercises under the French master, and others in transcribing from printed books. The foreigners make a distinct division, and receive lessons in English. Sometimes they learn little English dramas.

"At 8^h. 5^m. the classes form for extemporaneous construing, and for instruction in the grammar; some in Greek, and others in Latin.

"At 8^h. 50^m. the lessons conclude.

"Some of the younger boys, and others who have not acquired a character for neatness, now go into a room, where they are individually examined as to personal appearance. In the mean time, the great majority, to whom such an inspection is necessary, form into ranks, in which they arrange themselves alphabetically: that is, all whose surnames begin with certain letters, stand in a given rank,

and so on. A boy having previously assorted according to the same arrangement of the owner's names, all articles which have been found out of place the day before, and have not been claimed; these articles are now distributed, and a small fine is demanded for each by the class-Prefects. Those articles which have no names inscribed upon them are put into the *Trovery*; a book-case, with doors of open wire-work, through which every thing it contains may be seen. During this distribution, an officer reads the list of recorded fines for the previous day, which have been posted the evening before by certain boys; these fines must now be paid. Some teachers are engaged in distributing rewards to those who bring voluntary labor, and another is prepared to give out stationary to such as may want it—both of these distributions being confined to this part of the day. The boys who are examined as to personal appearance, also occupy certain teachers in receiving their recorded fines, and in paying for their voluntary labor. The *Troverer* is likewise in attendance to restore, for a certain fee, any article to the owner. All this multifarious business is concluded by

9^h. 10^m. when the bell rings for breakfast."

As the whole "proceedings of a day" would be somewhat tedious to our readers, we beg leave to stop at a very important operation, in which the mechanism of the school is wonderfully assisted by the instinct of nature, viz., the discussion of a breakfast.

We regret to find the authors of this work inclining so much to the side of what is speciously styled "practical utility," in the education of boys. We venture to assert, after some years experience and observation in these matters, that an education conducted upon these principles, must prove unsuccessful, as to the main object in view—the development and invigoration of the mental powers. We hold that a pupil may derive incalculable benefit from the study and "*recitation*" of Euclid's Elements, under a skilful teacher, who understands the nature and the magnitude of the object to be attained in early education, and knows how to employ the best means in the best manner. And yet, the

same pupil may, at the time, be utterly unacquainted with the practical applications of which these beautiful theorems are susceptible; much less does he need to be made acquainted with their "practical utility," in order to stimulate him to perseverance, or enflame his ardour. We have our fears, lest, in this "practical age," the substance of education be forgotten, while we are playing with a fleeting shadow; lest the conscious vigor and intrepidity of a well cultivated intellect, be exchanged for the light and fastastic trappings of the modern "dandy," or the ball-room huzzar; lest we consult and follow merely the natural (not always the *best*) taste and inclinations of the wayward boy, in place of *forming* that taste, elevating his views, enuring him to intellectual toil, and enabling him to adopt and feel the noble motto, "*labor ipse voluptas*."

The question may be stated thus: Is the education of boys to be conducted with little or no regard to their comprehension and appreciation of the practical utility of their studies; or is the study and pursuit itself to be of an immediately practical character, and is this fact to be understood by the pupil, and insisted on by the instructor, as the means of stimulating him to continued exertion? We candidly confess ourselves of the number of those, who deprecate the influence which the latter mode of proceeding, to the neglect of the former, must exert upon literature, upon study, upon intellectual cultivation, and the cause of education in our country. And we are not a little chagrined, when we see men of standing and consideration in the literary community, by their conversation and writings, and especially by their efforts and example, as instructors, attaching so much importance to the "practical" and the "useful" department of study, merely because they seem to promise immediate advantage; and denouncing, as "fools" or "pedants," all those fundamental teachers, ancient and modern, who strike at the mind itself as the grand instrument of

thought, and succeed in drawing forth its hidden energies, proving its resources, invigorating its powers, and giving keenness to the edge of its faculties.

We are inclined to believe, that what is (somewhat presumptuously) called "the natural method of learning languages" derives most of its importance from the admitted fact, that a smaller amount of intellectual toil is necessary, than in the "*unnatural*" method. The pupil is not obliged to inure his mind to patient labor, to develop his own intellectual resources, to climb the rugged steep, much to the discomfort of his tender feet, nor to seek for vigorous and elastic intellectual health, in the only way in which it can be secured,—by indefatigable exercise.

The authors of the book before us, although by no means so extravagant as Hamilton, or Hall, or Dufiei, lean too much to the plan of teaching languages by translations, and repeated repetitions, very proper, as we admit, when judiciously employed, and to a certain degree, by an experienced instructor ; but by no means adapted to supersede the more toilsome plan, which we must still be permitted to think embraces *intellectual* advantages of the highest order, upon which, however, our limits will not permit us to enlarge.

It is not the system, however, as we have before remarked, but the men, from whom we are disposed to expect great things in education. One man will employ the natural method of teaching languages, with great success, and with great benefit to the intellectual powers of the pupil ; another, with the same method, will accomplish nothing, or worse than nothing. One man will so conduct the study of the ancient languages, even in the older and more "*unnatural*" method, that the memory, the attention, the powers of taste, of combination, and of analysis, will all be exercised in beautiful harmony ; another, with the same method, will exhaust the spirits and patience of his pupils, contract their

minds, and inspire them with a hearty disgust for languages and the classics, for Ciceronian eloquence, Demosthenean fire, Athenian simplicity, "et hoc genus omne." And we feel constrained to believe, that if any teacher can accomplish all that the so styled "natural method" promises, it is certainly the highly gifted principal of the Hazelwood School.

We have not room to notice, at present, the remarks contained in this volume, upon instruction in Geography, Orthography, mental Arithmetic, and Geometry; upon Theatrical Exhibitions; the use of Rewards and Punishments, and the exercise of Composition;—some of which remarks are exceedingly judicious, and will furnish the liberal instructor with many valuable hints.

We would particularly refer our readers to the chapter entitled "*Review of the System*," which proves the writer to have been an accurate observer of men and things.

We solicit the patience of our readers for a few moments more, while, reviewer-like, we set forth a few notions of our own, upon this subject.

To us, the very idea of *one hundred boys*, of various ages, dispositions, and capacities, forming *one* family, for the purposes of paternal government, is preposterous. In this age of monogamy, the *bona fide* experiment can never be tried, it is true. Some parents, however, whose "quiver" is well supplied, and who are tolerably good disciplinarians, tell us of the difficulty of studying the dispositions and talents of even *twelve* boys. Perhaps our scepticism on this subject is unreasonable, but we do seriously doubt, (and our acquaintance with "High Schools" and "Gymnasias," at home and abroad, has not removed this doubt,) whether a larger number than *Forty*, or, at the utmost *Fifty*, can be thus studied by any *one* man, who professes to apply the principles of family government. Nor is it possible for *two* men to share this government of one hundred boys, (such, at least,

is *our* idea of a paternal government,) without dividing the school numerically,—making, in fact, *two* schools.

We would have the number sufficiently large, to secure all the advantages of a public education over a private one; and yet sufficiently limited, to secure all the advantages of a private education over a public one. The extremes may be made to meet.

We would have a boy, in the course of his education, before his transplantation from the seminary, anticipate, *as far as it can safely be done*, the excitements, the collisions, the competitions, and the bustling activity of the world; because we are convinced that in this way alone, his moral powers or faculties can ever receive their healthy development. A boy may know theoretically, even from the nursery, that he is a moral agent, that truth is universally commendable, and that falsehood is base; he may be furnished with a goodly number of abstract principles, clothed in the technical language of moral systems, which he has drunk in almost with his mother's milk. But we would have him, if possible, thoroughly imbued with a moral *feeling*—a *sentiment*—a *conscientiousness*. And this is precisely the very thing which can never be engendered by a secluded and solitary education, although we are very far from believing, that it will *always* be generated and confirmed by a public one. Still, our observation, experience, reading, and reflection, all concur in persuading us, that a certain amount and kind of intercourse with our fellows, is necessary, in order to engraft upon our moral knowledge the powerful influence of moral sentiment.

For the same reason, we would wish the boy to *realize*, (for the confirmation of this moral sentiment,) to *some extent*, the personal consequences of virtuous or vicious conduct. It is plain, that, in a course of private, secluded, and solitary education, he can have little or no practical acquaintance with these. If the circumstances of the public

course are such (and such we certainly would have them to be,) as to secure this advantage, without detriment to the moral character of the pupil, we should confidently expect him notwithstanding some occasional indiscretions,) to be far better prepared for the momentous part he is to perform in the great world, than a boy who has been secluded from the world, and whom, like a plant of sickly hue, an ungenial frost, or an unwonted blast, may wither or prostrate.

Again; we would have the number sufficiently large, to admit of the existence and influence of a public sentiment in this little community,—a kind of “*esprit du corps*,” in the best sense; but not so large, on the other hand, as to permit that public sentiment to assume and maintain a wrong direction. We consider this of vital importance, in the preparation of boys for the bustling, specious, noisy, and flattering world, into which we would have them pass, (for into it they must sooner or later pass,) without being confounded and disconcerted, or thrown off their guard, by its entire strangeness.

We would, therefore, throw together, without hesitation, as many as *forty* or *fifty* boys, of a suitable age and character, because we think it within the bounds of possibility, that this number may be *parentally governed*; while, at the same time, all the real advantages of social intercourse may be secured.

We need hardly add, that we would have the parental governor act the part, also, of a wise shepherd, who separates in season, the rotten sheep from the sound; well knowing, that “*one scabby sheep infects the flock*.” But we have not time to specify the various expedients, which the skilful governor of boys will resort to, in order to accomplish the greatest possible amount of individual and general good. As we have said before, in relation to other points, so we say now, in relation to the *government* of a school: we have no confidence in the very best system, on

paper, that the wisdom and experience of man can devise. If valuable, it must be so general as to admit of innumerable modifications in its application ; and, however plausible and unexceptionable it may be, it will depend for its efficiency, upon the master-spirit that applies it ;—as the sceptre, however grand and imposing in appearance, is powerless without a hand to grasp it and an arm to sway it.

Having brought together a manageable number of boys, *what* shall they be taught ? Whatever says one, will best prepare them for their active duties as men. True ; but *what will* best prepare them for their active duties as men ? Is it a knowledge of the *facts* unfolded in chemistry, botany, mineralogy, and natural history, which enables the boy to exhibit a specious precocity, and transports him, in the opinion of the fond parent, to the confines of manhood ?

The mind, says another, is a workman, and the intellectual powers and faculties are its tools. The main business of education is, to give edge and temper to the tools, and skill to the workman. Solid, intellectual, and moral culture, adapted to develope and invigorate the mental faculties, furnishes *a power*, inseparable from the man ;—just as the hewer of wood finds that a sturdy and practised arm, and a keen axe, is a possession of universal advantage, and well repays him for the toilsome exercise of the one, and the careful tempering and whetting of the other.

It seems to us, that either method to the exclusion of the other is defective ; or rather, that the advantages of the latter method, cannot be secured, without the adoption, to some extent, of the former. The mind is susceptible of indefinite expansion and invigoration. But some degree of positive knowledge—matter-of-fact knowledge, (to what extent and of what kind, we cannot now stop to show,) is necessary to form the *pabulum*—the *nutriment*—the *stimulus*. How shall we account for the insatiable curiosity of early life, the want of which is regarded as an indication of stupidity ?

And how shall we account, at the same time, for the exquisite pleasure, experienced by generous minds, upon the clear comprehension of indubitable and unchangeable truth?

From the existence of these principles in the soul, at so early a period, we conclude that our Creator designs that *both* should receive their appropriate gratification,—that *both* should be appealed to, in forming the mind.

If these things be so, we think we may safely conclude, that the *primary* object of education (we refer particularly to the education of the more intellectual classes of the community) ought to be, to *educer* or draw forth the energies of the mind, to bring to light its capabilities, to invigorate its faculties, to enlarge its views, and to instil and cherish the purest sentiments of patriotism, morality, and piety; while, at the same time, as great an amount of positive and practical knowledge ought to be furnished, as the circumstances of the pupil, and a constant regard to the primary object, above specified, will permit. It is solid, seasonable, and thorough instruction, in the branches of science and literature adapted to this end, which accomplishes the great end of intellectual education. The lighter studies, the miscellaneous reading, the polite accomplishments, and the gymnastic exercises, are all subordinate to this end, and efficient auxiliaries, when employed by a sagacious teacher. A superficial teacher we would not permit to cross the threshold of a school for boys. “*Procul, O! procul, este profani.*”

We regard, therefore, with unlimited abhorrence, the practice of some instructors, of pompous pretensions, and unblushing impudence, who would hurry the pupil over the substantial part of education, in order that the attainments of manhood may be forced upon the unripe boy;—just as the drawing-room graces and dress, are sometimes appended to the Miss of eight or nine years old, that she may pass

from childhood into ladyhood, in a moment, and thus obliterate the obnoxious period of youth.

We are more than ever impressed with the conviction that, for the purposes above mentioned, the mathematics, and the Greek and Latin languages, when skilfully applied, are the best adapted. We shall refrain from any remarks upon the invigorating influence of mathematical studies, because the subject has been so repeatedly and ably discussed. We are inclined to believe, however, that an *original* and inveterate distaste for the mathematics, has no existence. There may be, we admit, such an obtuseness of intellect, as disqualifies it for the clear perception of mathematical relations, and the enjoyment of the pleasure which accompanies the perception of unchangeable truth. But will not this same obtuseness of intellect, disqualify the mind for the prosecution of real study in every other department? The supposed want of taste for mathematical studies, is more frequently owing, as we have reason to fear, to the injudicious management of the study, particularly at the commencement. Some minds, like that of Pascal, will grasp at the most abstract mathematical relations, at a very early period. Others must be stimulated and encouraged by theorems and problems of a more mixed and practical character. To some minds, we need only *point out the way*. Others must be *led and supported step by step*.

It is obvious, however, that a mind that is formed solely upon the basis of mathematical studies, will be but partially cultivated. To supply the deficiency, the study of languages—the Greek and Latin languages in particular—are not merely valuable, but, in the present state of the world, indispensable.

Here, so wide a field opens before us, that we are almost tempted to lay down our pen. While it is in our hand, however, we must be indulged in a few observations on the exercise of “translating;” which, though it may suggest in the

minds of some of our readers, the frightful ideas of "*parsing*," "*scanning*," "*recitations*," and "*academical drilling*," we do assure them, conduces, when properly conducted, not a little, to the cultivation of the intellectual powers, the refinement of taste, and to an enlarged and accurate acquaintance with our vernacular tongue.

No intellectual faculty is of more importance than a keen-sighted discrimination, which, at a glance, can see distinctions where the vulgar eye can detect none ; which distinguishes, also, by the words employed to communicate the ideas, the nice shades of thought, and the evanescent hues of sentiment. Among the exercises promotive of this habit of discrimination, that of "*translating*," should occupy a very high rank.

A writer of talents (and such alone should be placed before the pupil for improvement in this exercise) deals in *thought*, and in *words* only as they are best adapted to convey the thought in a clear, impressive, glowing, or elegant manner. His thoughts are not apt to be vague and general, but particular and definite,—characteristic of the man—an image of his mind. The translator must discriminate. He must separate and analyse, and construct again, a luminous whole, from these luminous parts. Can this be done by a *vague* translation ? Can it be accomplished without a mental effort ? The translation must be searching and discriminating, in order to be profitable. We venture, confidently, to assert, that every clear discernment of an actual difference in shades of thought, however blended in common language, renders the mind itself more penetrating and efficient, raises its standard of intellectual excellence, whets its powers for future exertion, and confers an enjoyment which the sluggard or the literary lounge never felt.

The pupil should have *one* language as the common depository of his ideas, whether obtained by reflection or "*translation*." That this language (which in this case, may

be called the "*universal solvent*") should be our vernacular tongue, will not, we think, be doubted.

Now, our knowledge of the precise signification of the words in our own tongue, and of the modifications of meaning they admit by shifting their connexion, displays itself, frequently, in a kind of habitual feeling of the propriety or impropriety of this or that translation of a given word in a given connexion. With an intuitive judgement, we accommodate ourselves to the circumstances of the case; and are frequently sensible of some incongruity, without being able to remedy it.

It needs, therefore, no labored argument to prove, that, on the one hand, a tolerable acquaintance with our vernacular language is requisite in order to conduct, understandingly and advantageously, the exercise of "translating;" and, on the other, that when conducted in a liberal and discriminating manner, it induces in the pupil an accurate and discriminating use of his own language.

This important circumstance is too apt to be overlooked in our schools. There is no commanding station in life, (and such stations are mostly occupied by our liberally educated men,) where a discriminating use of our vernacular language is not demanded, or where a perfect command of it is not desirable. And in what way can we more easily and pleasantly acquire the desired fluency, copiousness, and accuracy, in the use of the English tongue, than by means of a judicious management of the exercise of "translating," in the earlier stages of education? The pupil has the thought provided. He must clothe it worthily. The unfurnished mind finds it not only irksome, but comparatively unprofitable, to torture a vague thought of its own, into a hundred Proteus-shapes, to pass muster for a "composition," which, turn it any way you please, whether it be fish, or bird, or beast, is old Proteus still. In "translating," the thoughts, (and those, it may be, of the most ennobling cha-

racter,) are furnished; the ideas are connected; the logical travail is over; the empty brain is not racked for something to talk about.

We do not wish to discountenance the practice of original composition. We mean only to say, that if composition is made to supersede this exercise of "translating," one of the best means of promoting an early acquaintance with the powers of our vernacular language, is neglected. Nor do we design to discourage the use of translations, in the earliest stages of the study of a language. Nay, if the views we have propounded be correct, the propriety of their introduction, *at a proper period, to a certain extent, and under skilful management*, provided the translations themselves be rigidly accurate, can hardly be doubted.

This view of the exercise of "translating," as a literary exercise, demanding, and at the same time promoting, an acquaintance with our vernacular tongue, may be still further illustrated by a comparison of the *idiomatic phrases* which abound in all languages. One peculiarity of these idiomatic phrases, is, that they do not admit of a literal translation into another language; which, however, unless unusually defective, will supply a corresponding idiom. Take the following examples:—

The Romans said: "*duos parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare*," which, literally translated, runs thus: "*to whitewash two walls out of the same tub*." But, properly translated, it means: "*to kill two birds with one stone*." A German would translate the phrase thus: "*mit einer Klappe zwey Fliegen schlagen*," which denotes, literally, "*to kill two flies at one slap*."

Again; a German, wishing to convey the idea, that the wife rules the husband, says: "*die Frau hat den Hut*," that is, "*the wife wears the hat*," which we translate, idiomatically, "*the wife wears the breeches*."

Again; the Romans said: "*nodum in scirpo quaerere*."

that is, "*to search for a knot in a bulrush*,"—to look for a knot in the stalk of a plant, which is naturally destitute of them. But the corresponding English idiom is: "*to stumble on plain ground*."

Again; the Greek phrase, "*πλυνειν τινα*," denotes, literally "*to wash one*." But in common language, it means: "*to rebuke one sharply*." So the Germans, in the same sense, say: "*einem den Kopf waschen*," that is, *to wash one's head*," which the Hollanders, also, express by "*washing one's ears*."

Again; the French phrase, "*trouver la fève au gâteau*," that is, "*to find the bean in the cake*," is properly translated: "*to hit the nail on the head*;" and the phrase, "*partager le gâteau*," that is, "*to share the cake*," is equivalent, in common language, to our English expression, "*to go snacks*."

It is for this reason that Plautus, Don Quixote, Aristophanes, Theophrastus, (in his Characters,) Shakespear, (in his Comedies,) Tassoni, (in his *Secchia Rapita*,) and other works of this class, are so difficult to translate well into another language, whose corresponding idioms are of a very different *literal* signification, and yet are the only phrases adapted to express those of the other language.

We might enlarge here upon the different degrees of literalness or freedom, in translating, to which the pupil will resort, under the direction of a skilful teacher, for the purposes of intellectual improvement, literary cultivation, or refinement of taste, but we must forbear.

Some one will now ask, shall the fascinating and instructive study of natural history be neglected in a course of early education? By no means. If the general principles which we have advanced, be correct, the grand object of education cannot be fully attained, without the aid of some studies of this character, as *auxiliaries*. The danger is, in making them too prominent and absorbing, to which we are disposed to object; because there are other indispensa-

ble studies, in which the pupil, at this early age, ought to be *mainly* employed.

Still, it is a matter of astonishment, considering the inexhaustible curiosity of the youthful mind, that so little use has been made, even incidentally, of this department, in our systems of early education. Our astonishment increases when we reflect, that every saunter among the fields and groves, and every excursion for amusement, health, or science, presents to the mind of the casual observer objects of the highest interest, which are generally unnoticed in later life, because, in our earlier days, when curiosity is keen, the memory tenacious, and imagination on the wing, the mind has not been accustomed to derive any portion of its enjoyment from this exuberant source. It is in the power of an enlightened instructor, who can control the whole time of an ingenuous pupil, to graft upon his mind, during the eventful period between six and sixteen years of age, the general principles and the most striking facts of Natural History, of Botany, and even Astronomy, without retarding, *in the least degree*, his progress in severer closet study. Let any one of our readers, who is a parent, lead forth an intelligent child, when the vault of heaven is studded with stars ; and, as his curious eye gazes upon the scene above, let the parent inform him in familiar language, that these brilliant specks, are probably the central suns of other systems,—vast, innumerable, and harmonious,—in which the power and the goodness of the Deity are unceasingly displayed ; and when he rivets his gaze in mute astonishment upon these seen but unknown worlds, let the parent inform him that these *myriads* of systems, to which our eye can reach, are but the *outer-skirts* of an infinitude beyond, buried in unfathomable space ; and we will venture to predict, that the questions from the astonished child, will, sooner or later, convince the parent, that he has touched a string which will long continue to vibrate.

In regard to the character and attainments that we should expect to find, in the man who assumes the high responsibilities of a governor and instructor of youth, we can only say, that the superintendent of the whole conduct and training of boys, ought to be morally and intellectually competent to the task ;—neither a novice, nor a pedant, nor a scheming enthusiast ; nor a cold-blooded, and shallow-pated drudge, with no more *soul* for this noble employment than the rod which he applies as the corrective of every evil ; nor a mere school-keeper, destitute, as is often the case, of those literary attainments, that gentlemanly and affectionate deportment, those benevolent feelings, and that devoted piety, which expend their united and benign influence in forming the intellectual and moral character of the youth.

On the popular subject of “Gymnastics” we would barely remark that they propose to themselves the developement and perfection of the several portions of the human frame, by bringing every joint, muscle, and limb in active play, particularly while the body is receiving its growth. They not only minister present health, but look forward prospectively to firmness of constitution in subsequent life.

Most of the Gymnastic games, also, are of a social kind, and awaken an intense interest in the competitors ; absorbing the attention, sharpening the perception, and communicating alertness to the motions of the mind as well as the body. Thus they become invaluable auxiliaries to the more direct methods of promoting intellectual culture.

The Gymnastic exercises of a more simple and elementary kind, consist of various movements and exertions of the particular muscles and limbs of the interior and exterior portions of the frame. Here, the superintendence of an experienced teacher is indispensable, that the exercises may be vigorous, without being violent, and adapted to the gradual developement of each portion, in its strength and beauty.

The exercises of a more complex and difficult character,

succeed to these, and prevent that partial development which we discover in the brawny arms of the blacksmith, or the protruding muscles in the lower extremities of the rope-dancer.

If the Gymnastic exercises, however, become too prominent a feature, in an institution for the education of boys, whose primary object is intellectual and moral culture, there is danger on the one hand, of making them more expert as tumblers and mountebanks than as students; or, on the other hand, of fatiguing them daily, to such a degree, as to blunt the delicate sensibilities of the mind, clog its movements, induce a drowsy and inefficient exertion of its powers, and lay the foundation of incurable disease.

The Gymnastic exercises, *judiciously modified*, may be combined with excursions for mineralogical, geological, and botanical purposes, for surveying, and for the mensuration of heights and distances; in which, the acquisition of useful knowledge will be combined with wholesome recreation.

We cannot forbear to add, that we would have religious instruction assiduously inculcated, upon the broad basis of the Scriptures.

On this subject, we have not much to say, not because its importance is not, in some good measure, realised, but because we are persuaded that every thing here will depend under Providence, upon the talents, sagacity, judgment, experience, and enlightened piety of the instructor; and that no definite prospective plan of proceeding, can be devised. Here, if any where, the instructor must feel himself unshackled by arbitrary rules.

If, amidst the multiplicity of books which demand our attention, *one* book presents itself, in which the piercing eye of criticism has never yet detected the slightest incongruity to tarnish its pretensions to a celestial origin;—a book, whose influence is doing more to tame the fierce passions which render our world “a field of blood,” to eradicate the

propensities which brutalize our species, and to accelerate and confirm the progress of civilization, than all the philosophy and legislative wisdom, and refined literature, which have been poured upon society, in ancient or modern times ;—a book, whose preservation and existence, in its present unexceptionable form, is itself a miracle ;—a book, in fine, whose doctrines are so sublime, whose morality is so pure, whose historical narrative is so simple and faithful, whose various portions are in such admirable keeping, whose prophetic character is so incontrovertibly established, whose instructions look forward so impressively, to the consummation of all things, and to the eternal destination of man, and whose literary execution anticipates, in so unequivocal a manner, the boldest imaginations of genius ;—if, we say, such a book exists, surely it may be said, not merely to *invite*, but to *demand* the early attention of all those for whom its instructions, its warnings, its denunciations, and its promises, were designed.

Those instructors are not, therefore, mad with overmuch learning, nor misguided by a wild enthusiasm, who assert, in an affectionate, consistent, and parental manner, the claims of this “book of books ;” especially if their Christian deportment stamps the character of sincerity upon their own profession.

Let us not be understood to advocate the cause of any particular sect. We would wish the instructor to set before the pupil the evidences of the religion of Christ, and its paramount claims. If any parent should object, because the claims of the Episcopalian, or the Methodist, or the Baptist, or the Presbyterian, are not urged, we would reply, it is enough for the instructor to introduce the pupil into the unappropriated field of Christian knowledge and principles, and leave it to the parent to exert whatever influence his judgment may suggest, in marshalling him under any particular banner.

We must now take leave of the subject of education, for the present, with many thanks to the Messrs. Hill, for the benefit already conferred by them on the community, and with some regret, that our own notions have, in the course of this review, put themselves forward so uncere- moniously, that we have hardly given *their* system as much space as its magnitude would seem to demand, or cour- tesy require.

CHURCH MUSIC,

CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO ITS ORIGINAL DESIGN

AND

ITS PRESENT STATE.

THOSE who believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, will admit, that Church Music was instituted for the purpose of aiding the devotions of the pious worshipper. It is equally evident, also, that the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, were in earnest while they sang. Their songs had constant reference to circumstances with which they were conversant, as well as to facts which were then sealed in the language of prophecy. The Psalmist of Israel, though highly favoured of God, was subject to the most remarkable vicissitudes of affliction and prosperity. Yet he ever sung out of the overflowings of a full heart. See him convicted of his deplorable iniquity under the reproof of the prophet Nathan. He cries out, in the bitterness of his soul, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my trans-

gressions." See him at another time banished among outcasts, from the commonwealth of Israel. "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee. O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God : when shall I come and appear before God ?" Again, while engaged in removing the ark, he exclaims, " Arise O, Lord, unto thy rest, thou and the ark of thy strength. Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness ; and let thy saints shout for joy." On another occasion, he is seen pouring forth his full heart in gratitude, " Bless the Lord, O, my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name." Again, we see him cast down in despondency—"Are his mercies clean gone forever !" At other times, he breaks forth at once into the highest raptures, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord."—" Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joyful together before the Lord." Such were the themes of ancient minstrelsy. The same themes were also sung by the apostles, and by the churches which they instituted ; and the same are to form the authorised basis of sacred songs down to the remotest ages of time.

It must be allowed that the subject of singing is spoken of less frequently in the New Testament, than in the Old. Some have hence derived an argument in favor of diminishing the importance of the institution. But if their reasoning is sound, it will follow, that in proportion as the established *themes* of song are better appreciated, amid the light of a gospel dispensation, they may be sung the less heartily, and with the less effect—the very reverse of which is true. If the early Christians paid less attention to the *cultivation* of psalmody than the Jewish nation had done before them, we must remember also, that they were placed in peculiar circumstances. They had not synagogues and houses of worship, which they could call their own. They were persecuted, afflicted, tormented, driven from city to city ; without were fightings, and within were fears. Yet, in the

midst of perils, they did all that was necessary, by example as well as by precept, to give the highest sanction to the art. The first annunciation of a Saviour's birth was immediately celebrated by a song of angels. The disciples sang at the sacramental supper. Paul and Silas sang at midnight in the depths of a dungeon: and the Revelation of St. John, contains such high-wrought specimens of minstrelsey as show clearly, that the art was expected to lose nothing of its real power, under the fulness of a gospel dispensation.

But again. If we examine more minutely these specimens of consecrated poetry, we shall find that in general, they presuppose an elevated state of the affections, as necessary to the very commencement of the exercise of singing. There is often required a more entire commitment of soul to God, in these songs of praise, than usually takes place in the exercise of social prayer.

This is a remarkable circumstance, and one which is full of instruction. In prayer, for instance, we plead for the grace of humility: but in song, the Psalmist says,—“Lord, my heart is not haughty,”—“My soul was as a weaned child before thee.” In prayer we plead for the grace of submission: the Psalmist says, “I was dumb, I opened not my mouth because thou didst it.” In prayer we ask for fixedness of strength, for the spirit of love and obedience: the Psalmist exclaims—“My heart is fixed, O God my heart is fixed.”—“O, how love I thy law; it is my meditation all the day.”

In perfect accordance with this statement is the fact, that singing appears anciently to have been, for the most part, introduced as a sort of climax in the exercises. Witness the services at the dedication of the temple. Skillful leaders were chosen on the occasion. The wise, the pious, and the honourable were among them; and the singers stood close by the altar. Yet, we hear nothing of the singing till the countless sacrifices had been offered, accompanied by the

prayers of the people: nor even then, till the priests had taken the ark, that holy symbol of the covenant, and placed it within the oracle. But when all this had been accomplished, and the people were thus prepared for the exercise, "it came to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound, to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord,—saying, For the Lord he is good, for his mercy endureth forever, that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord." Then, and not till then, was manifested the special symbol of the Divine presence; and it then appeared in such majesty, that even "the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God." Here was an order of the exercises instituted by God himself; and left on record for the instruction of future generations. The same order appears substantially in the early history of the Christian dispensation. The song of angels was preceded not followed, by the story of a Saviour's birth. The singing at the sacramental supper was preceded by a participation of the sacred emblems. The same analogy is preserved throughout the book of Revelation. The songs of the heavenly hosts are all preceded by some marked and special displays of the Divine glory. There the singing is neither a preparative to devotion, nor a "drop-scene" in the exercises. It is called for by the attendant circumstances, and bursts forth spontaneously from the enraptured bosoms of the worshippers.

It appears also from the history of the art, no less than from the preceding observations, that singing in the churches was an exercise peculiarly spiritual. The apostle seems to convey this idea, when he says "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? [joyful or possessing elevated affections,] let him sing psalms." The fathers understood the subject in the same analogy; so did the reformers. Both have left their testimony in favor of the benign influence of this part of the services.

The Bible, then, as we have said, furnishes us with the themes of song which are peculiarly spiritual; and these themes, or the substance of them, must ever constitute the basis of devotional music. We will now add what is equally obvious, that the music, according to the nature of the institution proposes to superadd something of its own, to the interest and solemnity of the themes.

Poetry is the language of feeling; and music, when properly applied to it, is expected to heighten its influence. A sentiment of penitence, for instance, may be supposed under favorable circumstances, to produce some given degree of emotion, though expressed in the humblest prose. Let the same sentiment be uttered in that species of poetry which speaks to the heart; and according to the acknowledged principles of human instrumentality, we may look for a higher degree of emotion. Now music, which is also the language of feeling,* proposes to assist our devotions, by superadding something of its own, for the further increase of emotion; and if it generally fails to do this, then, most undoubtedly, it fails to answer the design of the institution. The subject matter is furnished to our hand; the themes carry with them their own definite interest; and, if while singing them, we cannot habitually discover the increase of pious emotion; then we may rest assured that we are not deriving legitimate effects from the institution.

Now, we venture to ask, whether this is not the precise state of the case in most of the worshipping assemblies throughout the land; and we make the suggestion after years of the most careful and extensive observation.

Go where we may into the place of worship, there is the solemn stillness of devotion, while the Scriptures are read, while prayer is offered, and while the sermon is delivered. Also while the minister is reading the psalm or hymn in ever so indifferent a manner, there is generally the appear-

* At least, it ought to be such a language.

ance of attention and solemnity. Not so when the singing commences. Then the congregation are either on the one hand, gazing at the select performers to admire the music ; or, on the other, expressing their dissatisfaction by general symptoms of restlessness. The latter case is the most common. While the minister is reading the themes, then there is devout attention ; but when the exercise commences, which according to its nature, should superadd something to the pious interest of these themes ; then we observe the universal appearance of restlessness or relaxation. The words require, perhaps, a more entire commitment of soul before God, than is usually implied in the office of social prayer. Do the congregation—does even the minister, join in the petitions, and professions, and vows which are taken upon the lips of the singers ? No ; most evidently they do not ; for their attention for the most part, is diverted from the subject. The minister is turning over the leaves of the Bible ; adjusting the pages of his manuscript, examining a written notice which is handed him ; beckoning to the sexton ; whispering with some one who sits by his side ; or leaving the desk to speak with some member of the congregation relative to an appointment, or to some clergyman sitting below, whose assistance is desired in the pulpit. All this, and often much more is done directly in presence of the congregation ; and the example, of course, loses nothing from its conspicuity. The sexton follows it, in the performance of his noisy offices ; the *silent* worshippers too, are in motion, and even the singers, perchance, where there is a choir, are gazing about the house, to ascertain whether any one is pleased with their style of performance. In some churches we even see the penny contribution box handed round during the exercise. Are these the characteristics of spiritual worship ? By no means. Yet abuses of this nature are generally prevalent in the churches ; and they are almost endlessly diversified in character. The language of such a state of things cannot possibly be misinterpreted.

But there is a single fact in the history of the art which pours additional light upon the subject. The music of the ancients up to the third century of the Christian era, was scarcely any thing more or less than a refined species of oratory, cultivated in such a manner, as to give to the words, not only a melodious, but a distinct and impassioned enunciation. This was undoubtedly its character, when the laws of the institution were established; and it had the same character, when the examples of singing were recorded in the New Testament.* The precepts of the Bible, also referring to "the understanding," as well as to "the heart," require this express feature of the art; and the modern rules of composition and execution, if rightly interpreted, fully recognise its existence in theory at the present day.

Here then, is it not evident that the churches have departed from the very first principles of devotional music? The Bible furnishes the language of the themes; but in singing we annihilate this language. The Bible requires us to sing to edification; but we sing virtually in an unknown tongue. The words are not distinctly uttered—are not heard. The music instead of augmenting the interest of the themes, actually does away their character.

It is not enough to say, as an apology in this connexion, that the words are first read, and afterwards placed before us. For in most cases we fear they are read but indifferently in the first instance; and, as we have seen, they afterwards receive comparatively but little attention. Yet, were the fact otherwise, the plea would be inadmissible: for vocal music is, or should be, the very soul of elocution itself. It proposes to superadd something to the themes of song; not to destroy or neutralize them. It proposes to enforce them by the power of a distinct and impressive enunciation—not to substitute a monotonous style of reading, as a preparative which is to be followed by inattention and the confusion of tongues.

* See Burney's History of Music.

Taking the Bible as a standard then, our worshipping assemblies may here discover how widely they have departed from the ancient simplicity of singing "with the spirit and the understanding,"—singing, and "making melody in their hearts to the Lord."

Some writers of high respectability, however, tell us that music has lost in a great measure, its original power over the human mind; and that we are, therefore, no longer to expect such results from it as were realized in ancient times. This position serves as a quietus to the conscience of thousands who would otherwise be awakened to the conviction of personal responsibility. And, indeed, if the position is a sound one, we see not, but the thousand may still sleep on, without ever thinking of a remedy. Nay, more—if this position is tenable, then it will follow, of course, that the institution of psalmody has become a thing of nought—that the grand themes of salvation must hereafter, of necessity, be depreciated as they fall from the lips of the worshipper. Yes, if the position is true, we may even infer from it, that the Omniscient founder of the institution—with reverence be it spoken—has committed a great oversight; has given us a species of language for our edification, which could not retain its required character, while yet the laws respecting it, as instituted by Himself, were to remain unalterable. Those who would be shocked at the impiety of such a conclusion, would do well to pause, before adopting a position which necessarily leads to it.

Speaking of the art as it is, in its present neglected state, we must, indeed, acknowledge that it has lost some of its power over the susceptibilities of the human mind; but to say that this loss is irretrievable is a position which we utterly deny. Nothing could be further from the truth, as will be abundantly shown in the course of these remarks. Nor is there the least difficulty in restoring the art to its proper basis, but what arises from a habit of indifference, and a want of correct information.

But again, some will be ready to tell us, that low as the art is, in its practical results, its pretensions are even now, elevated high above their reach ; and that it is useless, therefore, to come forward with additional requirements. But here we beg leave to say, that the things we are about to propose, are neither very new nor difficult, however much they may have been forgotten. And we would add, also, that much of what is called cultivation at the present day, is so far from being indispensable to the art of psalmody, that it proves, when thus applied, to be nothing more nor less, than the work of misdirection.

To illustrate the full importance of this last remark, would lead us too far from the present design. We shall now proceed to speak only of those properties of style, which in church music may be termed radical. This we shall do in as few words as possible.

The grand desideratum in church music, it must be remembered, is, to unite the singing with the speaking tones, in such a manner as to produce a distinct and impressive enunciation.

The first thing required is a good voice. It is the opinion of experienced vocalists, that almost every one might learn to sing, if the necessary instructions were given in early life. A musical ear or a fine tone, is in no instance, the exclusive gift of nature. Either may be vitiated by bad management, lost by neglect, or recovered by practice. The most gifted, require cultivation ; and those who are the least susceptible, are found to improve under it more or less, except in extreme cases.* Any person who would preserve his voice from decay, or recover it when it has decayed, must use it freely and constantly. The revival of the ancient practice of singing in family worship, would secure

* We know that some will deny this : but we are aware also, that the best methods of cultivation are but little understood by the generality of teachers.

both of these objects. If this subject was fairly understood, would not multitudes who now plead the want of voice, or ear, or strength, or lungs, in excuse for their neglect, be readily convicted of delinquency?

The second thing required, is a knowledge of time. This knowledge, so far as an efficient style of psalmody is concerned, might be easily gained by cultivation. To say nothing in this place, of the intrinsical importance of time, there are two reasons why it should be kept with accuracy. The first refers to the preservation of that harmony which results from the union and combination of voices, without which, a performance must wholly cease to be musical. The second refers to the simultaneous utterance of syllables which is equally indispensable to the preservation of a distinct language. Singers are generally deficient in time. In the uncultivated style of congregational singing, it is never kept with any degree of accuracy; and while one singer presumes to lead the whole, by the mere powers of his voice or instrument, it is impossible that it ever should be. There is evidently, according to this arrangement, a mechanical necessity for singing out of time.

Accent and emphasis have also, so far as mere music is concerned, their intrinsical importance. These with the properties already noticed, and their usual concomitants, may be considered as together constituting upon the lowest estimate, the fundamentals of correct execution, and they may be all inculcated with the greatest facility by the skilful instructor. Most of our musical cultivation, however, proceeds thus far, and here spends itself upon the endless refinements of harmony, melody, and rhythm, to the almost total neglect of vocal enunciation. Yet it is evident that all this, unless there is something more, must pass for nothing in the account of Christian worship. For, as an apostle says, "unless they give a *distinction* in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?"—"If I know not the

meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh, a barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me." Yet as the art of singing is cultivated at the present day, it may call forth all its powers and combinations, deck itself with every charm of the muses, and waken even the fastidious critic into raptures; and, at the same time, leave the language, for the most part, perfectly dead and unintelligible. Indeed, so extensively has vocal enunciation been neglected in our best performances, that many respectable teachers have been known to pronounce it impracticable.

The secret of a good articulation is soon told. The vowels only, are sung: the consonants, consisting of mutes and semi-vowels are whispered, or uttered as in speech, only with greater precision, distinctness, and force. Take, for example, the word *thrive*. The first three letters are whispered in a forcible manner, as an introduction to the musical sound on the letter *i*, which, when sufficiently prolonged, terminates in the utterance of *v*, effected by bringing the upper teeth in close contact with the under lip, so as to vibrate it, and then forcing the breath between them. Here the *i*, only is sung; the rest of the letters are articulated. Singers in general, confine their attention to the vowels, while the consonants are either uttered too feebly, or omitted, or transposed, as in the following example:

"He feeds and cheers them by his word,"
'ef eed san' chee' sthem 'y 'i swor,

If the singers are merely exhorted in general terms, to "sing the words with greater distinctness," they will only lay the more stress upon the vowels, which has an effect directly opposite to the one intended. But let the secret of the art be revealed to them, and their errors pointed out for a while at the moment of their occurrence, and the required result will soon be realized. The rules of articula-

tion are easily reduced to practice. Even the pupils of an infant school have been known to profit by them, so far, as in their multitudinous efforts at singing, to articulate with perfect distinctness. What children so readily learn, may be easily acquired by adults. Where then is to be found excuse for delinquency?

Articulation alone, however, does not constitute language. The following lines, for instance, when deliberately uttered, with an equal stress upon each syllable, will scarcely convey an intelligible meaning:—

“FEAR—NOT—THE—WANT—OF—OUT-WARD—GOOD—
FOR—HIS—HE—WILL—PRO-VIDE—”

Before this language can be rendered perspicuous, syllables must be arranged into words, and words into phrases, by sensible pauses too minute for musical *notation*: the words, also, must have their proper accent, and some of them must be strongly marked by emphasis:

“FEAR NOT | the want of outward good;
For HIS | he will provide.”

These requirements, though essential to the nature of language, and quite within the reach of the juvenile mind, are generally neglected in church music; and the only reason why every one is not disgusted with the monotony which hence ensues, is, that the language being wholly annihilated in the performance, the mind rests upon the tune, deriving from it, by the power of association, such indefinite ideas of solemnity, as might be suggested by a musical instrument, or a “church-going bell.” But the moment that articulation becomes distinct, the further claims of language present themselves. The syllabical manner of utterance must, in some measure, give place to the flow of language, with its accents, emphasis, momentary pauses, and pauses of longer duration where the sense requires it,

all of which, though not expressly pointed out in the musical *notation*, are consistent with the rules of the art.*

But again. It is no less obvious that the claims of enunciation must, to some extent, govern the character of the movement, as to slowness or rapidity. The force of the lines above quoted would be lost, if the utterance were to be retarded by a very slow time. A quick movement, on the contrary, would as infallibly destroy the sentiment contained in the following lines :

The Lord ! how fearful is his name !
How wide is his command !

This distinction is so obvious as not to need a moment's illustration ; yet, it seems scarcely to have been thought of, by our compilers and teachers of psalmody.†

The enunciation is also frequently injured by the untimely introduction of musical graces or embellishments. This is especially the case in the simple congregational style, where every one manages according to his own notions of taste. The discrepancies which thus arise, would often prevent the words from being understood, even where there was no other difficulty.

But further.—Mere distinctness and propriety of utterance will not alone suffice. For the enunciation, as we have seen, should be impassioned. It should be loud or soft, slow or rapid—should kindle with the sentiment, or diminish as the

* Long pauses in the midst of a line, however, are very difficult of execution ; and for this reason, the poet who would furnish us with suitable hymns, should never place them there. The line—"He died : the heavens in mourning stood," may serve as an example in point. Omit the pause, and take breath, as is usually done, after the word "heavens," and the proposition is, that he *coloured* the heavens.

† The claims of sacred poetry, are thought of still less, it would seem, by the compilers of psalms and hymns. And a similar species of inattention is very observable among clergymen, in selecting portions to be sung.

cast of thought is varied. In short, it should partake more or less, of the nature of oratorical delivery ; and for this too, the art of style makes ample provision. A loud tremulous tone, unvaried in its intensity, is expressive of alarm, terror, or distress. A tone loud and abrupt at its commencement, but rapidly diminished in its intensity, is characteristic of joyous emotions. A tone just the reverse of this, characterises sentiments of exultation, irony, burlesque ; while a tone formed delicately, by the union of the two emphases, last mentioned, (*i. e.* by a swell and diminish,) is susceptible of the highest degree of pathos. These four forms of emphasis, more or less distinctly marked, and continually varying in character, according to the nature or strength of the sentiment, are applicable to almost every emotion of which the human mind is susceptible. When explained and illustrated by oral examples, a child may understand them and reduce them to practice. They form, in some sense, a language of emotions which may be applied as the words require. That they have been so generally neglected and forgotten, is attributable in part, to a circumstance already mentioned—the total absence of vocal enunciation. Let the words but once begin to receive a distant utterance, and we shall soon begin to feel the want of characteristic expression.

We shall here be told, perhaps, that music has, within itself, aside from the consideration of articulate sounds, the power of controlling the emotions ; and that, therefore, the claims of enunciation are comparatively unimportant. We admit the fact alleged ; but we deny the inference. The latter, is indeed just opposite to the one we should have deduced. If certain sounds, in themselves considered, have such power over the emotions ; then why should not these sounds be superadded to the consecrated language ? This is the very thing contemplated in the institution of psalmody. The characteristic tones which nature furnishes, must anciently have had as much power as they now possess ; yet

Infinite Wisdom saw fit to employ distinct and intelligible language as the basis of psalmody, leaving characteristic tones to be employed only in the superstructure. And, if we attempt to substitute the one of these for the other, we must do it without the least authority. We ourselves well know the influence of these tones. We have often felt it. We know that even instruments, aside from voices, may speak powerfully through the imagination to the heart. But in the important business of worship, who shall fully understand their language? Who can calculate on the precise nature of their appeal? Certainly, they here need the living voice of appropriate enunciation, as an interpreter. This voice is capable of conveying ideas with precision and energy; and when seconded, as it ever ought to be, by the characteristic tones which nature places within the reach of obvious cultivation, its power in psalmody is irresistible. The nature of these characteristic tones, as connected with emotions, we have just briefly considered. How evident is it, that, till these are, in some measure, understood, we do not begin to superadd any thing of special interest or solemnity to the themes of song.

But once more. It is perfectly evident, that in music, as well as in other species of oral communication, there may be the exhibition of sentiment, without any thing like the spirit of real eloquence. There may be the form of oratory without the unction. There may be the exhibition of much skill and cultivation, both as to tones and language, while yet the music is quite destitute of true devotional expression. It would be strange, indeed, if the fact were otherwise. We find this principle exhibited at times in religious conversation, in reading, in preaching, in social prayer. Where is the Christian who has not sometimes felt it, till his very soul would seem to die within him? Hence, the necessity of a careful preparation for these exercises, the necessity of watchfulness, of meditation, of secret prayer, of keeping "a con-

science void of offence towards God and towards man." And is it possible that church music should form an exception against this rule? May we here, by mere dint of cultivation, acquire a species of language which will generally secure results that are highly spiritual, as by the influence of mere machinery? The supposition would be impious. Spiritual worship must be conducted by spiritually-minded worshippers. The principle is true of every other species of religious exercise; and shall it not hold good, in reference to an exercise, which, according to its divinely constituted nature, is peculiarly distinguished for its spirituality? Christians cannot be edified even in conversation, unless they "speak often one to another." The Bible, unless there is the habit of constantly reading it, will prove but a sealed book to them; preaching requires preparatory exercises, both in the study and in the closet; and the same is abundantly true of social prayer. But, may Christians enter at once without preparation, upon an exercise which more especially requires an elevated state of the affections? May they here presume to commence their devotions "as the horse rusheth into the battle," and yet be enabled at once to pour out their full hearts in the themes of supplication or praise? May they here plead the promises?—implore forgiveness?—break forth into expressions of gratitude?—pay their solemn vows to the Most High?—call upon every thing that hath breath to praise him?—call upon the floods to clap their hands, and to be joyful together before the Lord? Yet the thing is continually attempted without the least suspicion of its impropriety. Even at the commencement of the exercises of public worship, while the worshippers are yet assembling, while the trampling of feet is heard, while the doors are grating upon their hinges, and all, comparatively speaking, is noise and confusion—just then, the singers have often been directed to "break forth in a shout of sacred joy"—or in "loud hallelujahs to the Lord!"

And who are they that thus commence these lofty themes, these soul-stirring accents of holy joy! Who are they that essay to mingle the earthly lisplings of praise with the "mighty thunderings" of the upper sanctuary! Perhaps they are a few thoughtless individuals who confessedly have neither part nor lot in this matter—individuals who have cultivated sacred song for purposes of mere amusement, tasteful gratification, or display. Possibly their teacher too, was a base man, or their present leader is an infidel. And if the music has much professional excellence, it is more than probable, that the performers are indebted to the theatre for it. Or, on the other hand—suppose the performers to be scattered through the whole assembly where all is bustle, inattention, and noise. One half of the multitude do not pretend to sing, or even to look at the words. Not a syllable is distinctly uttered. There is neither tune, time, articulation, accent, emphasis, or characteristic expression. There is virtually, no theme employed in the song; and no song that could, of itself, superadd any thing to the theme. All is jargon—systematic jargon! A few individuals whose musical susceptibilities are happily obtuse, and whose souls are hungry for the bread of life, may glean a little from the exercise and think it solemn and impressive; but it is needless to say that not one of the rest of the assembly can be edified.

How evident is it then, from all these considerations, that there should be a thorough work of reform in this portion of the services. Music has indeed, been cultivated in many places to a considerable extent. The countless refinements of melody and harmony, of modulation, of measure, of movement, have sometimes been sought out and cherished with great industry and zeal; and where, from the *vicinity of the theatre, professional* performers could be obtained; the charms of a powerful orchestra, of a thundering chorus, of a melting solo or duet, with every thing that is tasteful in

musical execution, and descriptive, or impassioned imitation, have been put into requisition for the public amusement. Many have been greatly delighted by such performances; nor do we ourselves pretend to be without susceptibility. But what has all this to do with the plain business of worshipping God? The journalists, to be sure, have often told us that it is the very thing required to give tone to the music of our worshipping assemblies. Go then to the oratorial rehearsal. Draw back the curtain before you. See that professional performer, the victim of intemperance, staggering along into the orchestra. Listen to his song "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day." He is succeeded perhaps with one whose mouth has just been fouled with profaneness, or blasphemy. He gives the *professional pathos* of "He was despised and rejected of men." Another, whose studied attitudes bespeak her emphatically, child of earth, is seen *pathetically* imploring the angels to TAKE HER TO THEIR CARE. And now, perhaps you will hear what purports to be the voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thundering, saying "Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." Have the choir and the orchestra, then, at length caught the true spirit of heaven? The composer, (he too, if we may credit his biographer, could swear successively in five different languages,) has by dint of genius almost unparalleled, produced a happy arrangement of the music. Do we now hear any thing like the emphasis of joyous heavenly acclamations? No, nothing like it. This and all the other *powerful* choruses must, to be sure, have the same orchestral emphasis—the strong emphasis of *alarm*, not of *joy*, or *exultation*.

Give to these men, all that is due to them! Place them with the Campbells, the Scotts, and the Byrons, of our own times; but not among the schools of the prophets. Let them not aspire to the office of holy David, and Asaph, and

Heman, and Jeduthan. As well might we ask the mere master of oratory, to preach to us, or lead us by dint of his mellifluous tones, in the exercise of social prayer. David, and Asaph, and their successors, addressed their inspired poetical effusions "to the chief singers." Would they have inscribed them to such characters as we have here alluded to? No: they would have driven them from their service.

Again, we say there must be a reformation. It must be begun, and carried forward perseveringly on Christian principles. Untiring zeal must be associated with intelligence and sound discretion. Christians must not rise up suddenly and cast out the minstrels whom they have so long permitted to occupy their place. They themselves have been the chief delinquents. And if we mistake not, they have long been suffering the consequences of such delinquency. We appeal to the conscience of the spiritually-minded worshipper. Why is it, that men of this character, have in late years, almost universally absented themselves from the schools of cultivation? Why have they so generally abandoned devotional singing in their families? Why in seasons of revival, have they so often discouraged music schools, and nearly excluded singing from their meetings for social prayer? Why too, have the clergy, the only men, who of all others, could exert themselves to the best advantage in this cause, so generally taken the lead in this abandonment of the art? Why is it, that at the present moment the preponderating influence in favor of church music is without the pale of the visible church? The reason is obvious. Christians have for more than two centuries been sleeping over the subject, while the enemy has been busily sowing tares. The abuses now every where so preponderate that the art is lost upon these worshippers. And were they at length to rise up by a sudden impulse, to restore the art to its required rank among the exercises of the sanctuary; it is to be feared, that there would not now be found among them

influence, or skill, or intelligence, sufficient to enable them to carry the object into successful execution. Christians must first become cultivators, to some extent, in their own proper persons, before they can understand the exact length and breadth of the work that lies before them. And is it not time to commence the work of preparation? Surely, the lame, the blind, the torn, and that which costs them nothing has long enough been offered in sacrifice. God is a Spirit, those who worship him must worship in spirit and in truth. He is a just God; he will not accept of robbery in the sacrifice of praise. He is a zealous God; he will not be mocked. His glory he will not give to another.

ON THE SONSHIP OF CHRIST.

ONE of the most difficult points of knowledge, is, to know how much may be known; to decide where the limits are to be placed to the speculations of the inquisitive mind of man. Neither philosophers nor theologians, have, in any age, observed these limits, and the consequence has been, that philosophy and theology, instead of being a systematic arrangement of the phenomena of the material and spiritual world, so far as they come within the range of our observation, or of the facts revealed in the word of God, are to so great an extent, the useless and contradictory speculations of men on things beyond the reach of our feeble powers. These speculations, as it regards divine things, are so mixed and enwoven with the facts and principles contained in the sacred Scriptures, that it is no easy task to determine, in every instance, what is revelation, and what is human philosophy. Yet with respect to almost every doctrine of the

Christian faith, this is a task, which, every sincere inquirer after truth, is called upon to perform. The modes of conceiving of these doctrines, in different minds and in different ages, are so various, that it is evident at first view, that much is to be referred to the spirit of each particular age, and to the state of mind of every individual. The history of theology affords so much evidence of the truth of this remark, that it probably will not be called in question. It must not be supposed, however, that every thing either in philosophy or theology is uncertain; that the one and the other is an ever changing mass of unstable speculations. There are in each, fixed principles and facts, which, although frequently denied by men whose minds have so little *sense of truth*, that evidence does not produce conviction, have maintained, and will maintain their hold on the minds and hearts of men. With regard to theology, the uniformity with which the great cardinal doctrines of our faith have been embraced, is not less remarkable, than the diversity which has prevailed in the mode of conceiving and explaining them. The fact, that there is one God, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are this God, that there is such a distinction between the Father, Son, and Spirit, as to lay a sufficient ground for the reciprocal use of the personal pronouns, has been the faith of the Christian church from first to last. And yet there is probably, no one doctrine contained in Scripture, which has been so variously defined and explained, as this. In the earlier ages of the church, when the religion of the Gospel was glowing in the hearts of all the followers of Christ, when it was peculiarly a religion of feeling, it was not to be expected that this mysterious doctrine should be very accurately defined. To the early Christians, Jesus Christ was God, to him their prayers were directed, their praises given—in him all their confidence was reposed. In their preaching, sermons, and apologies, they presented God the Father, Son, and Spirit, as the

great object of their worship, as the Christian's God. It is true, that very early, some few of the fathers, who had previously been speculative men, introduced their speculations into the doctrine of the Trinity, but this was far from being the prevalent character of this period. Irenæus is a much better representative of this age, than Justin Martyr, and we find him expostulating against the various attempts which had been made to explain the inexplicable mysteries of the Godhead. When religion had in some measure, passed from the heart to the head, when the different modes of thinking and speaking on the subject of the Trinity, which had long prevailed, began to give rise to serious evils; and when opinions were adopted, inconsistent with the great Bible-fact, which had previously been almost universally admitted, then a necessity arose for those in authority, to state with more precision, what was the faith of the church on this important point. That the modes of expression employed in their authoritative exposition of this doctrine, were derived from the prevalent modes of thought of that age, and were intended to meet particular forms of error, may be readily admitted, while we maintain that the truth which they meant to convey, was nothing more than the great fundamental doctrine of the Christian church. It need not be concealed, that the expressions, which in various ages, and by distinguished writers, have been employed on this subject, have often been infelicitous and improper. Expressions, which if strictly interpreted and urged, would imply either, Tritheism on the one hand, or Sabellianism on the other. While at the same time, to the minds of those who used them, they implied only what all Christians recognise as the corner stone of their faith. It is much to be lamented, that so much animosity has been excited, and so much time and labor wasted on points of dispute, which arose from the imperfection of human language, or the weakness of the human mind. There has this good

effect, however, resulted from these controversies, that the church has been driven from one unguarded mode of expression to another, until it has come back to the simple statement of the word of God, and consented to leave the inexplicable unexplained. It is to be remarked too, that this advantage has been derived mainly from the opposers of the doctrine in question. They have seen and exposed the difficulties attending the various definitions of the doctrine of the Trinity, and have falsely imagined, that in showing the inconsistency of a theological definition, they have thereby refuted the doctrine itself. It would certainly be very unjust to accuse the modern defenders of the doctrine of the Trinity, of having renounced the faith of the Church, because in their statement of this article, they abstain from the exceptionable or unintelligible terms, which in former times, have been employed to set it forth. The Bible-fact has ever been, and still is, by the great body of the Christian community, maintained and defended, although we have been taught to confine ourselves more closely to what the Scriptures more immediately teach.

The same series of remark, may be applied with equal propriety, to the doctrine of the Sonship of Christ. With regard to this doctrine, even in a greater degree than the one just alluded to, it is true that the explanations and definitions of which it has been the subject, have obscured the great truth, meant to be taught. It may be stated with the consent of the opposers of what is called the *eternal generation* of the Son, that in every age of the church, the great body of Christians have believed that Christ is called the Son of God, on account of the relation existing between him as God, and the first person of the Trinity. Whether this doctrine is taught in the word of God, is disputed, but that it has been the faith of the church, is admitted. In the early ages, it is not impossible that the ideas attached to the expression, were more vague even than those, which from the

nature of the case, are still entertained by those who maintain the common doctrine on this point. Christians were taught to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and they were led to consider these terms, as the appropriate names of the several persons of the Trinity as such. As soon, however, as men began to ask what was the nature of the relation indicated by these terms, we find the same variety of modes of thinking, and the same diversity of language, which have been exhibited in the explanation of most other leading doctrines of the Scriptures. In the first few centuries, almost every mode of explanation and illustration was adopted, which has ever been employed since. Some of the Fathers had recourse to the distinction between the Logos ἐνὸν ὡς τὸς, and the Logos παρρησιας. To what extent this philosophical theory prevailed in the church, it is not our object to enquire. We merely wish to note the diversity which obtained among those who all united in believing that Christ as Logos, was the Son of God. Ireneus objected to this, and all other explanations of the doctrine, while he maintained the doctrine itself. What the nature of Christ's Sonship, or generation was, he pretended not to say, and complained of those who did. "When any one asks us," he says, "how the Son is produced from the Father? we answer, no one knows. Since his generation is inexplicable, they who pretend to explain it, know not what they say. That a word proceeds from the understanding, every body knows. What great discovery then, is made by those who apply what is familiar to every one, to the only begotten word of God, and undertake to explain so definitely, his incomprehensible generation."*

Origen's explanation was derived from the Platonic doctrine of the relation of the *vous* to the *ὄν*, as the latter was always revealed in the former, so the Father is from eternity

* Adv. Hær. L. II. C. 28.

exhibited in the Son, as the effulgence of his glory. He maintained an eternal generation of the Son, but rejected every mode of expression, and every illustration borrowed from material objects, as utterly inconsistent with the spirituality of the Supreme Being. He objected to the expression, "generation from the divine essence," (*γεννησις ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ*), as implying that God was capable of division. Tertullian's mode of thinking, was far less refined. "He could," as Neander (*Kirchengeschichte*, p. 1035,) says, "very well conceive, according to his emanation theory, how a being could emanate from the Godhead, possessed of the same substance, though in a less degree; just as a ray emanates from the Sun. He maintained, therefore, one divine essence in three intimately united persons." *Una substantia in tribus cohaerentibus*. And says of the Son, *Deus de Deo, modulo alter, non numero*.

The mode of explaining this doctrine, adopted by the Nicene Fathers is familiar to every one. "We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one essence with the Father, by whom all things were made, &c." Since this period, this has been the general, though by no means, the universal, method of speaking on this subject.

Amongst Protestant divines, there is a general coincidence as to the manner of explaining the generation of the Son of God. It is commonly defined to be, "an eternal and incomprehensible communication of the same numerical essence, from the Father to the Son."* Not that the divine essence produces another divine essence, but the Father, as a Person, communicates the same divine essence to the

* *Æterna et incomprehensibilis, ejusdem numero divinæ essentiae communicatio a Patre facta Filio*. De Moor Com. in Markii Comp. Tom. I. p. 742.

Son.* It will be seen at once, that this is not a simple statement of a Bible-fact, but a philosophical explanation of what the Scriptures are supposed to teach, viz. that Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God. This definition is founded almost exclusively on the idea of generation itself, and has arisen from urging unduly the analogy of the relation between Father and Son, among men, when applied to God. De Moor expressly says, we must consider the generation of Christ, as including all that is essential to the idea of generation; and as among men, generation is the communication of life, therefore, there must be a like communication in the case of the Son of God. See De Moor Tom. I. p. 736. This analogy, and the passage in John v. 26, in which the Father is said to have given the Son to have life in himself, (which some of the advocates of this doctrine explain as referring to Christ in his divine nature,) are almost the only grounds, as far as we know, for this particular view of the subject. It should be remarked, however, that the venerable men, who felt themselves constrained to present the doctrine in question, in this light, were very far from attaching any of those gross ideas, to the phrase "communication of the divine essence," which have been supposed to be necessarily included in it. They expressly state, in what sense they use the expression; that all ideas, inconsistent with the spirituality and infinite perfection of God, are to be excluded from it; and consequently, all idea of posteriority, dependence, or change. *Generatio, non nisi summa υπεροχη Deo tribuitur, ita omnes imperfectiones, quae finitam creaturarum generationem sequi solent a generatione hac divina longissime sunt removendae, nimirum dependentia, successio mutatio, divisio, multiplicatio, &c., De Moor, p. 736.* If it be said, that the ideas of posteriority, dependence, and mu-

* *Generatio inquam Filii à Patre, non enim essentia gignit essentiam — sed Persona generat personam. De Moor Commentarius in Joh. Markii Compendium, Theol. Christ. Caput V. § 8.*

tability are necessarily included in this phrase, and that if these be denied, the very thing asserted is denied; the friends of this definition would say, that all such objections arise from transferring the gross ideas which we derive from sensible objects, to an infinite spirit. That it is just as impossible to conceive how the Father and Son should have the same divine essence, and yet remained distinct persons, as that this essence should be communicated from one to the other. And we are free to confess that if the *à priori* objections urged against this doctrine, are to be considered valid, we cannot see how we can consistently remain believers in God's omnipresence, eternity, or any other doctrine which is confessedly incomprehensible. We are not, however, the advocates of this definition, nor do we consider it, as at all essential to the doctrine of Christ's divine and eternal Sonship. It has never secured the favor of many who are firm believers in this doctrine. Lampe, in his Commentary on John v. 26, expressly rejects the interpretation of the passage, which is considered as the chief ground of this particular view of the Sonship of Christ. The life there said to be given to the Son, cannot, he maintains, be referred to his divine nature; because such a gift would be inconsistent with his independence and necessary existence. He opposes strenuously, the idea of any communication of essence, and yet declares, *se Generationem Filii Dei naturalem, ad ipsam divinam essentiam pertinentem, unicam, aeternam absolute necessariam, sancto agnoscere, libere confiteri masculineque asserere*. See Preface to Vol. III. of his Commentary. It is true that Lampe, by many of his Brethren, was blamed for taking this course, and they accused him of thus committing an "atrocious injury," on the cause of orthodoxy. This, however, does not alter the case, nor affect the correctness of our position, that the doctrine of Christ's divine Sonship does not consist in this idea of the communication of essence. The same view of John v. 26.

as that presented by Lampe, had been given before, by Calvin, Beza, and many others.

Morus, in his *Commentarius Exegeticus in suam Theol. Christ. Epitomen* Tom. I. p. 256, would explain the doctrine thus: *Filius per Patrem est, et talis, qualis est, per Patrem est*; which in the language of the church, would be, *Filius natus est ex Patre*, and in philosophical language, *Pater cum Filio essentiam communicavit*. On page 242, and seq. when speaking of the appellation *ὁὸς τοὸν Θεοὸν* as applied to Christ, he says, *Significatus dogmaticus nominis ὁὸς τοὸν Θεοὸν huc redit: æqualis Deo, qui habet eandem naturam; eadem attributa, eadem opera, quæ Pater*. Such passages as John v. 26; Matthew xxviii. 18, and John xvii. 2, in which life, power, and ability to save, are said to be given to the Son, he understands, not as referring to Christ as mediator but as God, and consequently as affording ground for the statement, that the Son has what he has, and is what he is, through the Father. He appears to lay no stress upon the philosophical definition of the Sonship, so often mentioned; but says that we should tell the people, that when they hear the word generation used in reference to Christ, they should think that the Son is even as the Father, has the same essence and the same attributes; that he can and does do whatever the Father does. Only the Son is through the Father.

Knapp, in his *Vorlesungen über die Christliche Glaubenslehre* Erster Theil, p. 214, in speaking of the sense in which God is called the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, after stating that the expression sometimes refers to the relation which Jesus, as the Saviour of men, sustains to the Father, says that "it undeniably refers in several passages, to a certain internal relation in the Godhead, of the Godhead of Jesus to the Godhead of the Father; the real nature of which, however, the Bible has nowhere clearly explained, and which indeed must be incomprehensible to men. Only

the Son, says he, has all from the Father, although he makes himself equal with God." In like manner he maintains that the name *υιός του Θεού* in Rom. i. 3—4; John v. 17; John i. and Heb. i., unquestionably refers to the divine nature of Christ. The name Son of God, he says, should only awaken in us the idea of the participation of Christ in the divine essence—that he is of the same nature with the Father, even as among men, a son is of the same nature with his parent.

Zachariä, in his *Biblische Theologie*, Göttingen, 1775, vol. I. p. 503, gives, as the result of his examination of the Scriptural doctrine of the Sonship of Christ, in substance the following statement. There is in God himself, that is, in the divine essence, an internal relation which has some similarity to the relation between Father and Son among men. This follows from the names Father and Son, if these names refer, as in his opinion they do, to the first and second persons in the Trinity as such, and are founded on their relation the one to the other. This relation includes the idea of the sameness of nature, and this is the only idea essential to it. Every thing else included in it, being merely human, cannot be transferred to God. The Son, therefore, must have the divine nature because the Father has it, or in other words, there must be a certain relation, in virtue of which, the Son is a partaker of the divine nature or essence. A nearer or more definite explanation of the nature of this relation between the Father and the Son, cannot be given, on account of our limited knowledge of the divine Being; or because there is nothing analogous to it among men. And at best our analogical knowledge of God extends but a little way. This relation must have existed from eternity, and is therefore a necessary and unchanging relation.

The idea of generation, strictly speaking, considered as an internal act of the Father, by which he confers the distinct character of Son to the second person in the Trinity, is

neither in his opinion taught in the Scriptures nor essential to the doctrine of Christ's divine and eternal Sonship.

We think that it must be admitted, that the essence of the doctrine under consideration is something different from any, or all of the various definitions of which it has been the subject. The revealed fact, as we believe, is that Christ, in his divine nature, is the Son of God. That this implies that there is some ground in the nature of the relation of the Father and Son, for the application of these relative terms, will hardly be questioned. But *what* the nature of this relation is, the Scriptures have not revealed, and we therefore cannot undertake to decide. It will not be denied, that much evil has been produced, by the attempt to reduce to distinct formulas the general truths of the Bible, nor that many have been led to reject this, as well as other doctrines of the word of God, from the difficulties with which they conceived the definitions of them to be incumbered. Calvin long ago exclaimed, *Utinam sepulta essent nomina* (Tritinatis ὁμοουσιον, &c.) *constaret modo hec inter omnes fides, Patrem Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum: nec tamen aut Filium esse Patrem, aut Spiritum Filium; sed proprietate quadam distinctos.* *Inst. Christ. Lib. I. Cap. 13, § 5.* It might, with equal propriety be desired, that theologians had contented themselves with asserting the Bible fact on this subject, without attempting to decide whether Christ was the Son of God by emanation, communication of essence, or merely by oneness of nature.

A mere statement of the principal *à priori* objections to the divine Sonship of the Redeemer, will be sufficient to show, that they are all directed against the idea of derivation of the second person in the Trinity from the first, and consequently that they bear not against the doctrine itself, but against some few of the forms in which it has been exhibited. We shall mention the principal of these objections, as they are given in substance, in Roell's *Dissertatio de Generatione*

Filii Dei, as they are the same which have been presented both before and since. It is said that the doctrine contains a contradiction in terms, that it is utterly incomprehensible how the divine essence can be communicated to the Son, and yet retained by the Father.* That this objection is directed to the idea of communication of essence, its very terms imply. And that it is valid, may be admitted, if the word communication is to be taken in a physical sense. But those who employ this term, tell us that this is not the sense in which they use it; that being applied to a spiritual being, it is absurd to speak of whole and part, as though God were capable of division; and that if it be allowable to demand *how* the divine essence can be communicated from the Father to the Son, and yet retained by the Father? the objector must submit to a similar demand, *how* three distinct persons can have the same numerical essence! *how* God can be in heaven and on earth at the same time, and yet not partly in the one and partly in the other? It is evident, that when we speak thus, we use words nearly without meaning, human language is so little adapted to the things of God, and our knowledge is so limited, that we may be said not to know what we say, nor whereof we affirm. When speaking of God's essence, his omnipresence, his successive eternal existence, or mode of subsistence, our ideas are at best merely negative. We endeavor to deny every thing inconsistent with absolute perfection, but we are unable to state affirmatively, what we mean by any of these terms. Frequently as the distinction between the $\epsilon\tau\iota$ and the $\pi\omega\varsigma$ is upon our lips, we are constantly disposed to forget it. Nor do we feel as we ought how infinitely such subjects are beyond our reach.

A second objection is, that the doctrine in question is in-

* Vel Pater totam Filio dedisset vitam, quando ipse eandem amisisset; vel partem essentiae divinae tantum, quando nec Pater nec Filius eam possideret. See, De Moor Caput V.

consistent with the eternity of the divine nature of Christ, since from the nature of the case, the Father must be prior to the Son.* And thirdly, it is objected that it necessarily involves a denial of the independence and self-existence of the Son.† These objections amount to the same thing, that this doctrine is inconsistent with the proper deity of the Son of God. Now whether this is so or not, it should be recollected that the uncaused, self-existent, independent divinity of Christ, is as strongly asserted by the advocates of this doctrine, as it is by any class of theologians whatever. It is true that some of the Fathers used language apparently inconsistent with this statement. But even Bishop Bull objects to calling the Son and Spirit (*αἰτιατους*) caused. Although he says he can conceive of a sense, in which the Son may be called an eternal and infinite effect of an eternal and infinite cause. Such language, however, has never been adopted by the great mass of believers in the eternal generation of the Son of God. It is impossible to express in stronger language, faith in the uncaused, self-existent, and independent deity of Christ, than has been done by these men. Calvin, Beza, Mark, De Moor, and as far as we know, Protestant divines generally, teach that Christ is properly called *αὐτοθεος*, Deus a se, and prove that it must be so, from the verity, supremacy, and independence of his Godhead. De Moor says, (p. 772.) Si Filius sit verus Deus est Deus independens : nam independentia est inter attributa Dei facile prima, atque ab essentia Dei inseparabilis. See also Calvin's Theological Tracts, Tom. 7, of his works p. 672, where he maintains that the Son and Spirit not less

Si generatio illi tribuatur qui cum conscientia operatur, ut enti mere rationali, vel ratione saltem predito, voluntarius sit oportet generandi actus. Ex quibus opertum est, in ejusmodi proprie dicta generatione generantem esse genito priorem.

† Quis non hoc per se intelligit,—id omne quod et quatenus genitum est, catenus dependere a generante, tanquam effectum a causa.

than the Father are to be called *αὐτοθεός*. They further deny any kind of dependence of the Son on the Father, in reference to his divine nature, but maintain that the several Persons in the Trinity are alike independent, of equal dignity and perfection. *Omnis ingitur υπεροχη Patri supra Filium tributa, spectat non ad naturalem Patris et Filii subsistendi modum in se consideratum, sed ad redemptionis oeconomiam et munus mediatorium a Deo Filio voluntarie susceptum.*—De Moor, p. 721. It must not be supposed, therefore, that it is the exclusive privilege of those who deny the Sonship of Christ, to regard their Redeemer as self-existent, uncaused, and independent,—nor that it is necessary to give up the self-existence of the Logos in order to believe that he is the Son of God. The only question is, whether the communication of the divine essence from the Father to the Son, be consistent with this belief in the self-existence and independence of the latter? We find the advocates of this definition, almost with one voice, asserting that it is; declaring that they associate no ideas with the phrase in question, inconsistent with these divine attributes; that it is as unreasonable to force upon them a meaning of the expression which they disclaim, as it is for Unitarians to assert that we are necessarily Tritheists in believing that there are three persons in the Godhead; that there is no more necessity for using the word “communication,” as applied to God, in its common sense, than there is for using the word person in the same sense when applied to God, as when applied to men; that the *πρωτον ψευδος* of all such objections lies in pressing the analogy between divine and human things too far, and thinking and speaking of God as though he were material, or at least altogether such an one as ourselves. It is plain that if it be permitted to apply to God forms of expression in the same sense in which they are used among men, there is no one subject on which we may not be involved in contradiction and absur-

ing. We say that the Father and Son have the same numerical essence, and yet we say that the Son became incarnate, and the Father did not, that is, that the same numerical essence did and did not become incarnate. Is it not something worse than useless for us to speculate so confidently on subjects at such an infinite remove above our conceptions, and to avail ourselves with so much confidence of the most dangerous of all arguments, the *reductio ad absurdum*, when applied to subjects like the present. We are, however, no advocates for the definition under consideration, not because we consider the *à priori* arguments against it as just and conclusive, but because we cannot find that it is founded on the clear statements of the word of God, and because we regard it as one of the vain attempts to bring down by formulas and definitions, the infinite mysteries of the Godhead, within the grasp of man's infant intellect. Still we think that it is much to be lamented that so many distinguished men should have been influenced, either in whole or in part, to reject the doctrine of Christ's divine Sonship, by objections, which, if of any weight at all, bear only on a philosophical formula for expressing the nature of the fact on which the doctrine is founded. It is still more to be regretted that they should have been led to use such harsh language as has at times been applied to this doctrine. That it is an "infinite" and "awful absurdity," even in its most objectionable form, would require stronger arguments than any which we have yet seen, to induce us to believe. Nor do we think that after all that has been written upon the subject, and the express denial on the part of its advocates of all ideas of derivation and dependence, that exclamations against the thought of "a derived Deity" are altogether candid or courteous. The idea that "this strange conceit" was derived from the Platonic or Gnostic Philosophy, is about as reasonable, as that the doctrine of the Trinity was derived from Plato, because the terms employed to set it

forth, were borrowed from the new Platonic school. We have no objection to the rejection of all such terms, but do not let us reject with them the great Bible-fact upon which the whole Gospel rests. Let who will reject the explanation of Origen, Tutullian, or the Nicene Fathers of the divine Sonship of Christ, but let him seek some better reason than the faultiness of a definition, for rejecting the doctrine itself. We do not mean to intimate that these *à priori* objections are the only ones urged against the doctrine in question, but we verily believe that they are by far the most efficacious. For that any man can believe that a doctrine is "abhorrent to reason," and inconsistent with all just notions of the spirituality of God, and yet go with a perfectly unbiassed mind to see whether it be taught in a book which he regards as infallible, we deem a moral impossibility. And should he find it there, he would not, and could not believe it. No man can believe what he deems to be absurd. He must either renounce his faith in the Scriptures, or explain away the passages in which such absurdity is taught.

We have been led to the consideration of this subject, from observing how frequently and strongly the divine Sonship of Christ is denied, and from noticing that the main objections to it, are directed against a mode of presenting it neither essential to the doctrine itself, nor adopted by some of its ablest advocates. The question is a very simple one, Why is Christ called the Son of God? Is this name given to him in reference to his divine nature, and founded on the relation which as God he sustains to the first Person in the Trinity, or are his incarnation, resurrection, exaltation, &c., the sole reasons for his being so called? Our object in the remainder of this article, is to show that there are passages in which the name, Son of God, is referred to the divine nature of Christ, or in which it necessarily involves the assumption or ascription of equality with God.

Our first argument is an *à priori* one, that *such has al-*

ways been the faith of the church. This may be regarded as unworthy of a Protestant, and some may revolt at the idea of an appeal to the authority of men as to the meaning of the word of God. We have, however, no intention of calling in question the right of private judgment. The argument is only one of presumption, and as such, is founded on the very first principle of Protestantism, viz. the perspicuity of the Scriptures. We assume the fact, (because it has often been admitted, and cannot with any plausibility be denied,) that in all ages, the mass of intelligent readers of the Bible have believed that Christ, in his divine nature, is the Son of God, that the names, Father and Son, are applied to the first and second Persons in the Trinity, as expressive of their mutual relation as such. If this be so, then it affords a presumption, strong as proof, that such must be the obvious meaning of the word of God. For how is the supposition, that the mass of readers have always mistaken its meaning, to be reconciled with the favorite principle of Protestants, that the Bible is easy to be understood? We are unable to call to mind any one doctrine which has been thus generally received, by the great body of intelligent and pious Christians, as taught in the Scriptures, which the Scriptures do not really teach. The explanation of these doctrines may vary as the systems of philosophy and modes of thinking vary, but the doctrines themselves are retained; nor can they be rejected, without rejecting what we have the strongest of all reasons for regarding as the plain and obvious meaning of the word of God. We cannot see how the force of this argument is to be denied, without denying that the obvious meaning of Scripture is its true meaning, which, after all our learning and laws of exegesis, is the sheet anchor of the church. By obvious meaning, is not to be understood, the import which at first view an individual would be disposed to assign to an isolated passage, but that sense which the general tenor of Scripture, the logical con-

nexion, and constant comparison of analogous passages would naturally lead, and in fact have led the mass of Christians to adopt. This is the general way in which men form their opinions of what is taught in the word of God; and if this be not a safe and proper way, then must the Scriptures be but little adapted for general instruction, and the bulk of the people must depend on what the learned shall tell them. of the things involving their eternal interests. These remarks, of course, apply only to those doctrines which are so plainly taught, as to secure the assent of the great mass of the readers of the Bible. The results which are thus obtained, are in the great majority of instances, the same as those at which the learned exegete arrives after a laborious and scientific investigation. And when they differ, the presumption is in favor of the multitude, rather than of the learned individual. The ground of this presumption is, that the causes which operate upon the latter, to produce error of judgment, are peculiarly numerous and powerful. It is rare to see any commentator, even if his general theory of interpretation is correct, who does not carry some one principle to an inordinate length, or who is not unduly swayed by one species of evidence, to the neglect of others, of equal importance. Giving, for example, opinions respecting the meaning of particular passages, on merely philological grounds, contradicted by the whole train of the argument and drift of the context. The writings of J. D. Michaelis afford many striking illustrations of this remark. A whole class of commentators, whose main principles of interpretation are perfectly correct, might be brought as examples, of pressing some favorite principle unduly. Thus, because the apostles were Jews, and used the same words and phrases which were common among their countrymen, these words and phrases are presumed to mean exactly as much, and no more, than they would do in the mouth of an ordinary Jew, as though there were no modification of their in-

port to be expected, when used to express the peculiar doctrines and feelings of Christians. It is in this way Paulus, Rosenmüller, and to a certain extent, Morus, have rendered flat and powerless some of the most spiritual portions of the word of God.

We are clearly of the opinion, therefore, that far more respect is due to the clear common-sense view of Scripture, that which commends itself to the judgment and pious feelings of the mass of Christian readers, than to the views of the learned few. This is the ground of the presumptive argument, which we have stated in favor of the divine Sonship of Christ. If it be a fact, that the readers of the Scriptures have, as a body, been led to think that the name, Son of God, is applied to Christ in reference to his divine nature, there is a presumption in favor of the opinion, that the name is so applied, which it should require the strong evidence to induce us to resist. To ascribe the prevalence of this opinion to the influence "of fathers, doctors, and framers of systematic divinity," is to have a strange notion of the relation of cause and effect. And to suppose that it could not stand a day before the light of "sacred philosophy," without this adventitious support, argues a forgetfulness of the fact, that it has stood its ground, amid the wreck of the whole fabric of scholastic terminology and divinity. That such men as Morus, Knapp, Platt, and others, who will not be despised as deficient in philological knowledge, nor suspected of being held in the trammels of system, have retained the doctrine in question, is a sufficient answer to such an assertion.

But we proceed now to the examination of a few of those passages, which seem to us clearly to teach that Jesus Christ, as to his divine nature, is the Son of God. And here we would remark, that it is not to be expected that a name or title, which so frequently occurs, should in every case, be attended with circumstances, which enable us to decide with certainty what is the ground of its application; it is enough

if some few passages of this kind occur : such a passage we consider Romans i. 3, 4.

Paul commences this Epistle with his usual assertion of his apostolical authority. He had been divinely appointed to preach the Gospel concerning the Son of God. "Who was, *indeed*, born of the seed of David, as to his human nature ; *but* powerfully exhibited as the Son of God, as to his divine nature, by the resurrection from the dead."—του γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σὰρκα, του ὀρίσθεντος υἱοῦ του Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγίουσυνης, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. That γενομένος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, means born of the race of David, will not be questioned, γεννασθαι and γενεσθαι being used precisely in the same sense : as Gal. iv. 4, γενομένος ἐκ γυναικος made or born of a woman. The first point to be established in justifying the interpretation given of this passage, is to fix the sense of κατὰ σὰρκα. It need hardly be remarked, that the word σὰρξ is used in such a variety of significations in Scripture, that we must depend, in a great measure, on the context for its meaning in any particular passage. It is used for the flesh literally, for the body, for the body and soul united, for man, mankind, human nature, the corrupt principle in man, &c. &c. Hence κατὰ σὰρκα may mean according to the flesh, in any one of these senses, which the context demands. The question here is, in what sense was Christ born of the family of David ? the answer is κατὰ σὰρκα as to his human nature, or, in so far as he was a man. The word is used in this sense, Acts ii. 30, (according to the received text,) Rom. ix. 5. Philem. 16v, &c. The word then admits this sense, and the context would seem to require it, since it is only as a man, or as to his human nature, that Christ can properly be said to be the Son of David. A comparison of this passage with Rom. ix. 5, will serve to confirm this interpretation. There, the apostle says, that Christ in one respect το κατὰ σὰρκα was descended from the Fathers, while in another he was God over all, blessed for-

ever. That *κατα σαρκα* here, is correctly rendered—according to his human nature, or, as a man, is generally admitted, and the similarity of the passages, would constrain us to take them in the same sense in both cases.

The corresponding clause in the antithesis, is *κατα πνευμα ἁγιοσύνης*: as to his human nature, Christ is the Son of David; as to his divine nature, the Son of God. The grounds for this interpretation of this latter phrase are the following. 1. That the word *πνευμα* is the proper and Scriptural designation for the divine Being, or nature, as such. The word *ἁγιοσύνη*, which by a very common Hebrew idiom, qualifies *πνευμα*, as an adjective, is used in the LXX. Ps. cxliv. 5, for *הוֹר decus, majestas*; in Ps. xcv. 6, for *יָצַק robur*, and in Ps. xcvi. 13, for *קִדְשׁ*, that is, it is a general term for that which is the object of admiration or veneration, and, therefore *πνευμα ἁγιοσύνης* is majestic, glorious, or holy Spirit. The idea expressed by *πνευμα* is by the addition of this word exalted. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the proper import of the phrase is suited to express the divine nature. But 2nd, the higher nature of Christ is elsewhere called *πνευμα*, as 1 Peter iii. 18, *θανάτωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζῶσποινθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι*, which is thus rendered, in Robinson's Translation of Wahl's Lexicon, "subjected to calamity and death in his human nature, but enjoying perfect happiness and glory as to his spiritual nature." (See article *πνευμα*.) Wahl makes *πνευμα* as spoken of Christ, equivalent with *ὁ λόγος* as used in John i. 1. Perhaps 1 Tim. iii. 16, belongs here also. In 1 Cor. xv. 45, Christ is called *πνευμα ζωοποιον*, and in Heb. ix. 14, his divine nature is called *πνευμα αἰωνιν*. We shall have occasion to refer to these passages more particularly afterwards. 3rd. The antithesis requires that *κατα πνευμα ἁγιοσύνης* should answer to *κατα σαρκα*. If the latter, therefore, be understood of his human nature, then the former must be understood of his higher or divine nature; if the one informs us in what respect he was the Son of David, the

other must inform us in what respect he was the Son of God. This is so plain, that few critics have felt themselves authorized to interpret one of these phrases, in a way which destroys its correspondence with the other. Hence, the sense put upon *σαρξ* determines that which is given to *πνευμα*. Those who make the former mean *a low condition*, make the latter mean *an exalted one*. To this it may be objected, that this sense of the word *σαρξ*, does not so well suit the context, nor the form of expression, (*κατα σαρκα*), as to the flesh: since it was not *as to a state* that Christ was the Son of David. The use of the phrase also in Acts ii. 30, and Rom. ix. 5, is against this interpretation, and finally, it would require us to give a very unusual, if not, an entirely unauthorized sense to the words *πνευμα αγιασσης*, viz. state of exaltation. We cannot find a single passage, either in the Old or New Testament, where *πνευμα* has this meaning. No such sense is assigned to it by Wahl, or Schleusner. Those passages which are adduced by the author of the article *Vom Wort πνευμα*, wenn es von Christo gebraucht wird; in Eichhorn's Repertorium, Vol. 2. p. 1—24, are to us entirely unsatisfactory. The first, is 1 Peter iv. 6, where the apostle is exhorting Christians to holiness, in view of a future judgment, and then refers them to the case of those who had already died, to whom the Gospel had been preached, so that (*ινα*) though they might be condemned of men (*σαρxi*) as to the body, yet through God they live (*πνευματι*) as to the spirit. Here, from the opposition of *σαρξ* and *πνευμα*, the latter can hardly have any other sense than the soul. Though their bodies be dead, their spirits live. The second is 1 Peter iii. 18, *χριστος θανατωθεις σαρxi, ζωοποιηθεις πνευματι*. Here the word *ζωοποιεω*, after the Hebrew *חַיָּה* may either mean, to preserve alive, continue in life, or, to render happy. Wahl takes it in the latter, Pott in the former sense. According to the first, the meaning of the passage is, Christ indeed was put to death as to the body, (*σαρxi*

Dative as before,) but continued in life as to the spirit. (πνευμασι.) For Wahl's view see above. The sense in which πνευμασι is here taken, depends upon the view adopted of the following verse, ἐν ᾧ (i. e. πνευμασι,) καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνευμασὶ πορευθεῖς, ἐκήρυξεν &c. π. λ. The spirit, therefore, here spoken of, is that in which Christ preached to the spirits in prison. If this preaching occurred before the flood, then is πνευμα his pre-existent nature, i. e. his divine nature. If it occurred immediately after his death, then πνευμα may be his human soul: but in neither case can it be his *exalted state*. The third passage is 1 Tim. iii. 16, where Christ is said to have been "manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c." That is, he was proved or shown to be just; to be all that he claimed to be, the Messiah, the Son of God. This was done ἐν πνευματι; which may mean either, by the influences of the Spirit miraculous and ordinary, by which the claims of Christ were established; or it may mean his divine nature, the πνευμα which dwelt in him, and which was manifested in all his life and in all his works; and in, and through which he was justified. To render πνευμα here, *his exalted state* would be to make this clause tautological with ἀνεληφθῆναι ἐν δόξῃ. Besides, it is inconsistent with the natural order of the particulars here specified by the apostle, according to which, the glorification of Christ follows his justification. In the passage, as commonly understood, every thing is natural. The incarnation of Christ, the establishment of his claims as Messiah, his being seen and served of angels, preached and believed upon in the world, and his ascension to glory, follow each in natural arrangement. We have, therefore, no reason, and consequently no authority, for adopting so unusual a sense of the word πνευμα in this place. The only other passage is Heb. ix. 14, where Christ is said δια πνευματος αἰωνίου to have offered himself unto God. Though Storr in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. p. 167. renders these words by "in dem Zustande

einer ewigen Herrlichkeit," *in the state of eternal glory*; and although Professor Stuart, in the XVIIIth Excursus to his commentary on the Hebrews, inclines to the same view, we cannot think it correct for the following reasons. 1. We think the passages adduced, and which have been noticed above, are insufficient to prove, that πνευμα is ever used in Scripture, for the exalted or glorified state of Christ: and if not, then this interpretation of the word here, is contrary to the usus loquendi. 2. The sense given by the word in its ordinary acceptation, is perfectly good and suitable to the context. "If," says the apostle, "the blood of bulls and goats purified—how much more the blood of Christ, who was endowed with an eternal spirit," i. e. was a divine Being. That δια may be taken in this sense, is admitted: it occurs frequently in this way, particularly in the writings of Paul—δια γραμματος having the written law, δια περιτομης with circumcision, &c. See Wahl's Lexicon under δια. 3. The words εαυτον προσηνεγκεν are descriptive of what occurred on earth, i. e. of Christ's sacrifice, see v. 25, and v. 28 of this chapter, and not of what was done in heaven. Besides, the point of the comparison is not between the different places, where the sacrifices of bulls, and that of Christ were offered, but between the sacrifices themselves, and therefore δια πνευματος αιωνιου must express the personal dignity of Christ; which it does in the strongest possible language. If the blood of animals was of the least value, what may we not expect from that, of a Being possessed of a divine nature.

As these are the only passages adduced to show that the word πνευμα may be rendered, *exalted state*, if these are insufficient, it will certainly not be contended that we are at liberty to give it that sense in the passage under consideration. To make it mean, *according to the revelations or predictions of the Holy Ghost*, as is done by Calvin, and more recently by Michaelis and Ammon, is so directly at

variance with the structure of the passage, which requires us to make *κατα πνευμα ἁγιωσύνης*, answer to *κατα σαρκά*, that this interpretation cannot be considered sound, and has, in fact, very few advocates. Nothing but the exigency of the case can authorize us to do violence to the rule, which governs the interpretation of antithetical passages. As no such exigency exists here, it evidently should not be departed from, especially as Paul, perhaps more than any other of the sacred writers, abounds in such passages, and depends most on his readers gathering his meaning by the aid of the mutual light afforded by the contrasted terms.

The only other ground for the interpretation given of the phrase in question, which we shall present, is the analogy between this passage and Rom. ix, 5. There the apostle, as before remarked, is speaking of Christ in a two-fold respect. According to the one, he is descended from the fathers, according to the other, he is God over all, blessed for ever. So here, in one respect, he is the Son of David; in another, the Son of God. As Son of David is equivalent with being descended from the Fathers, so is Son of God, equivalent with God over all, blessed forever.

We designedly passed over the word *ὁρισθεντος*, that we might be permitted to derive an argument from the interpretation, which we have endeavoured to show, must be given to the words *κατα πνευμα ἁγιωσύνης* in favor of that given of *ὁρίξειν*. This word is properly *to fix the limits of any thing, to define, &c.*, in the New Testament, *to appoint, constitute, determine, &c.* Accordingly, the most obvious meaning of *ὁρισθεντος υἱου Θεου* is *constituted the Son of God*. But it is familiar to every student of the Scriptures, that it is very common to say of any person, (or thing,) that he is made that, which he is only pronounced or declared to be. Thus to make guilty, is to pronounce guilty; to make just, is to pronounce just; to make clean, is to declare clean; and so in cases without number. See Storr's Observations

ad Analogiam Heb. p. 14. Hence ὁρισθεντος υἱου θεου, in the strictest accordance with the usage of the Hebrew-Greek, *may be rendered, pronounced, or declared*, the Son of God. That it must be so rendered, we think, clear from the following considerations: 1. Christ cannot be said to be constituted the Son of God, *κατα πνευμα ἁγίωσυνης*, if these words mean, as shown above, the divine nature. 2. It cannot be said, that he was constituted the Son of God, by or after his resurrection, as he was the Son of God before it. If this title is equivalent with Messiah, or king of Israel, still he was Messiah and king of Israel before his resurrection. And hence, even those, who make *πνευμα* here to mean exalted state, translate ὁρισθεις by *declaratus*.

There is another process by which the same sense may be shown to be expressed by the term, without having recourse to the familiar Hebraism above alluded to. Thus Morus says, ὁρίζω in communi vita est: *terminos pono*, nam ὅρος est *terminus*, limes, agrorum terminus. Iam metonymice ὁρίζειν in communi vita est, *confirmo aliquid, facio ut sit certum*.—Ita ὁρισθεις υἱος του Θεου erit: der bestätigte Sohn Gottes, certo confirmatum est eum esse υἱον του Θεου. Yet Morus translates *κατα πνευμα ἁγ.* quoad statum suum excelsiorem. He cannot, therefore, be supposed to be biassed in his judgment as to the force of the word ὁρίζειν, by theological prepossessions. We shall not undertake to decide, whether the passages quoted from the common Greek authors, in support of this sense of ὁρίζειν by Elsner, are sufficient to prove the point, as the process by which Morus explains the term, is so simple and satisfactory. Does not however the phrase ὁρίζειν τινα θεον more properly mean to declare or pronounce that one is a God, than to constitute one a God?

Both Chrysostom and Theodoret, (if further confirmation of this point be necessary,) explain ὁρισθεντος by ἀποδείχθεντος. The Syriac gives it the same sense. The majority

of modern critics, however they may differ in their expositions of other parts of this passage, agree here. So Koppe, *declaratus per resurrectionem filius Dei*. Flatt, für Gottes Sohn kräftig erklärt wurde; Tholuck—ist nun offenbar worden als Gottes Sohn. And to the same effect, many others.

The words ἐν δυνάμει may either be connected adverbially with ἐπισθεντες, or adjectively with υἱὸς Θεοῦ. In the former case, the sense would be, was powerfully manifested as the Son of God: in the other, he was manifested as the powerful Son of God. This manifestation was ἐκ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, either by the resurrection from the dead; or after the resurrection, as *ex* admits of either sense. In both cases the meaning is the same, it was the resurrection which was the great decisive evidence that Christ was all that he claimed to be, the Messiah, the Son of God, and Saviour of the world. It is in this light that the apostles were accustomed to speak of the resurrection of their Master. It was one important part of their official duty to bear testimony to this fact. Hence, when Judas fell, they said, "one must be ordained to be a witness with us of his (Christ's) resurrection." It is recorded of them, that "with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus." Paul tells the Jews that the evidence that God had fulfilled the promise made to their Fathers, was that he had raised up Jesus. And in 1 Cor. xv. he makes all our hopes as Christians to depend upon the fact that Christ has risen from the dead. This was the final proof that he was the Son of God.

We have now given the grounds, on which we are constrained to believe that the passage before us, contains an explicit declaration, that Christ in his divine nature is the Son of God. The view here given, is not only that which Beza and the older commentators had presented, but which such men as Flatt, Knapp, and others, who cannot be considered as influenced by theological prepossessions, have adopt-

ed. The oftener we have examined the passage, the more thorough has been our conviction, that the interpretation given above, is not only admissible, but that it is the only one which the text will consistently bear. And, therefore, we consider this passage decisive on the point at issue. For all that we have undertaken to prove, is, that Christ as Logos, is called the Son of God; not that this title in the mouths of Jews, Heathen, and evil Spirits, or even of the apostles, was uniformly used in a sense involving the ascription of true divinity. The further consideration of this subject must be postponed to our next number.

ON THE SONSHIP OF CHRIST.

IN our last number we endeavored to show, that the doctrine of the divine and eternal Sonship of Christ, does not include the idea of derivation of the Logos from the Father ; and consequently, that the objections which proceed on this assumption, even admitting their force, are not conclusive. We remarked, that a distinction was to be made here, as in many other instances, between the fact as revealed in Scripture, and the explanations of its nature, as given in different ages and by different men. The simple point we wish to establish is, that the Logos is the Son of God. In support of this point, we referred to Romans i. 3, & 4, where we think it is expressly asserted, that Christ, as to his human nature, is the Son of David ; but as to his divine nature, was clearly exhibited to be the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead. Those of our readers who admit the correctness of the interpretation of this passage as there given, would demand no other proof of the position which we have assumed. For it is to be borne in mind, that it is no part of our object to prove, that the name, Son of God, is always used, in direct reference to Christ's divine nature ; or that it is always employed in a sense implying equality with God. Our object is merely to show, that Christ as God, is called Son ; and for this purpose we will now advert to some other passages.

These are principally in the writings of the apostle John. And here it may be well to remark, that if any expression be susceptible of two interpretations, the one of more, the other of less depth and tenderness of meaning, the presumption is

greatly in favor of the former, when used by this apostle. There is something in the whole manner in which the beloved disciple speaks of his divine Master; of his relation to the Father as his Son; of the intimate union between them as such, and in his use of the phrase Son of God, which must impress every unbiassed reader with the conviction, that it is a mysterious and inscrutable relation, which he endeavors to shadow forth, by this expression. It is difficult distinctly to exhibit this kind of evidence, consisting as it does, in the general spirit and manner of an author; yet every one will probably feel it. We are sensible, that the full meaning of the apostle is not reached, by paraphrasing, Son of God, King of Israel, or the man miraculously begotten. Such expositions substitute a distinct intellectual conception, for a vague but elevated impression; and we are conscious of being great losers by the exchange. We feel this, when we hear the unity, which John makes his Master assert to exist between himself and his Father, explained as mere coincidence of purpose or will. If we could not prove it to be otherwise, we should still believe, that this was not all that was intended. The characteristic of this apostle, to which we are now alluding, has been felt by all commentators, who have any congeniality of spirit with the sacred writer. Those of a different description, have either reduced to the coldest and flattest sense, every thing in this Gospel; or questioned its genuineness altogether. There is great force in the remark made (we think) by Storr, that nothing betrays such an utter destitution of all proper feeling for the true spirit of Christianity, as these sceptical doubts and low interpretations of the writings of St. John. We think our readers will admit, that there is at least a presumption in favor of St. John's meaning something more by, Son of God, than King of Israel. That this is really the case, we hope the following passages will prove.

The first is in these words: 'Ο λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνω-

σεν ἐν ἡμῖν, (καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς,) πληρὴς χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. John i. 14. The Logos, full of grace and truth, became incarnate, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, a glory that became the only begotten of the Father.

It seems natural, as πληρὴς is in the nominative, to make it the predicate of λογος, and to consider the words included in the brackets as parenthetical. Grotius, Tittmann, and others, connect it with μονογενοῦς; then πληρὴς is by enallage for πληρὸς. A similar instance may be seen in Revelations i. 5. ἀπο Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁ πιστός. Still, as in the Gospel of St. John, such departures from the usual grammatical construction are rare, we prefer the common method of explaining the passage.

The ὡς before μονογενοῦς is not a sign of comparison, but is used as the *veritatis*, in Hebrew. Hesychius explains ὡς by ἀληθως. This interpretation has been adopted in this instance by almost all commentators, from the time of Chrysostom. "We saw his glory, the glory truly, of the only begotten of the Father." Or it is equivalent with *ut decet*. Tittmann paraphrases the passage thus: Vidimus majestatem ejus, dignam Filio Dei. Gloriam talem et tantam, qualis et quanta nonnisi Filii Dei esse potest. He gives from Chrysostom as an illustration, the common expression, he walks as a King, that is, as becomes a King.

The word δόξα is here to be taken for all the perfections of the Logos; and if the Logos is God, as John asserts in the first verse, then δόξα is the sum of the divine excellence. It is in this sense that כְּבוֹד is very frequently used in the Old Testament. It expresses all God's perfections as manifested to his creatures. The word is here, therefore, not to be restricted to the display of divine power made in the miracles of Christ, or to the exhibition of his glory in his transfiguration: but the apostle means to say, that he had seen a fulness

of excellence, wisdom and power, in Christ, that could belong to no creature.

μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός. It seems hardly necessary to remark, that *υἱοῦ* is to be supplied after the first word in this phrase, as this is so evident from the import of the word *μονογενής* itself, and from the fact that John so frequently uses the full phrase, "only begotten Son," as c. iii. 16, and elsewhere. As no part of our argument from this passage rests on the meaning of the word *μονογενής*, (if *υἱος* be supplied,) we might admit, that it may be translated "only," or "beloved." We would remark, however, that the reasons commonly assigned, for giving it the second sense just mentioned, appear to us very unsatisfactory. It very often happens, it is true, that in compounds, their strict etymological sense is in common usage neglected, or considerably modified. And this is no doubt so far the case with the word before us, that the idea expressed by the first part of the word is sometimes mainly or solely retained; as in Ps. xxv. 16, where it is used for *μόνος*; hence *μονογενής υἱος* is, in the Scriptures at least, an only son, whether an only surviving, or only begotten son, or the only son by the same mother. It is in this sense, that it corresponds to the Hebrew word יְחִידָה *alone, only*. That this Hebrew word is sometimes translated in the LXX. by ἀγαπητός, does not prove that *μονογενής* and ἀγαπητός are synonymous, but merely that יְחִידָה is sometimes taken in the sense of the one, and sometimes in that of the other, of these Greek words. We are inclined, therefore, to think that *μονογενής* as applied to Christ, can only with propriety be rendered *unigenitus*, or *unicus*; i. e. unus in suo genere.* It matters not, how-

* As to the classical use of this word, which is indeed of less weight in the present instance, it may be well to quote part of a note given by Lücke in his Comment, page 422, from Prof. Näke of Bonn. "From the earliest Grecian poets, in philosophical language, (as in Plato's *Timæus*) to the writers in the time of the Emperors of different centuries, after Christ, *μονογενής* retained its full meaning; *μόνος γενομέ-*

ever, for our purpose, how this word is rendered. Christ is the *μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός*, the Son, unus in suo genere, such as no other being in the universe is; and is so called in distinction from the *οἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ* or *πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. He is the only Son, in the sense in which the apostle uses the expression. This, of course, does not decide in what sense he is thus peculiarly the Son of God, and therefore we lay no stress on the use of this particular word, except so far as it expresses the idea just mentioned.

Any one, who will throw his eyes on the passage under consideration, will see that the words *παρὰ πατρός*, are much more naturally connected with *μονογενούς* than with *δοξάν*. According to the latter method of construction, the sense would be, We saw his glory, a glory (*δοξάν*) given by the Father; so Erasmus and Grotius. This is unnecessary and forced. Those, however, who connect them with *μονογενούς*, explain the phrase variously. Beza supplies *ἐξελθόντος*, others *όντος*; but neither is necessary. Noesselt (*Opuscula Fasciculus II. p. 179.*) translates *παρὰ πατρός*, *apud Patrem*; *majestatem tanquam unici filii, qui erat apud Patrem*. This gives a sense well suited to the analagous passages, v. 1, and v. 13; but it would seem that *παρὰ*, in this sense, would require the dative or accusative. It is better, therefore, to take *παρὰ πατρός* for the simple genitive, as may with strictest propriety be done, see Rom. xi. 27. *ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη* for *διαθήκη μου*.

The whole question to our purpose as it regards this passage is, who is the *μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός*? We think the *Λόγος* as such. This appears clearly from the passage itself. The Logos became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his

υἱός or *μόνος γέγονώς*; for example, *μονογενὴς παῖς*, (in Hesiod and later writers,) *the only son*, that is, *the only son born to his parents*, so that, the only surviving son of two or more, cannot be called *μονογενής*. The only departure from the usual sense of the word, he says, is found in its application to Minerva, *born of only one parent*." This however relates to the first, and not to the second part of the compound.

glory; that is, the glory of the Logos, which was as of the only begotten of the Father. The meaning is, we saw a glory which could belong to no other being than the Logos, who is God, the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. It seems evident that John uses the words *λογος* and *μονογενης παρα πατρος* in the same sense, exchanging the one expression for the other; and if this is the case, then is the Logos, the Son of God.

A reference, to the context, will make this still more obvious, and will show, that no relief is obtained by saying, that it is only the Logos as incarnate, that is called the Son of God.* The apostle's object is, to set forth the true nature of Christ. He therefore says, that the Logos was in the beginning with God, and was God, the Creator of all things, the source of all light, and the fountain of life. This divine Being became man, and we (the apostles) saw, even under this veil, the glory of the Godhead, of the Logos, for it was such as could belong to none other than the only begotten of the Father; i. e. to one who was partaker of the divine nature and attributes. We think nothing can be

* If this were the case, it could not be on account of the miraculous conception of the human nature of Christ, that he is here called the Son of God; for the incarnation of the Logos, and the miraculous production of Christ's human nature, are two very different things. Another reason, therefore, beyond those usually assigned for the application of this name, must in this case be assumed; viz. the union of the divine with the human nature; or, as Storr, in his note on Hebrews, i. 5, expresses it, "because he, who before all things was with the Father, and in his bosom, became man; or because he, who before the foundation of the world, was the beloved of the Father, God's dear Son, has united himself in one person, with the miraculously conceived man Jesus." Weil der, am Anfange der Dinge bei (John i. 1.) dem Vater (1 John, i. 2.) in seinem Schoos war (John i. 18.) Mensch worden ist, oder weil sich der von dem Vater (17, 1. 5.) vor dem Daseyn der Welt Geliebte (v. 24.)—der liebe Sohn Gottes—mit dem übernatürlicher Weise empfangenen Jesu zu Einer Person verbunden hat.

clearer, than that John interchanges λογος, and μονογενης παρ πατρος, and consequently calls the Logos the Son of God, which is all that we are contending for. We think that it is also clear, from this passage, that John intends by the name Son of God, (or which is the same, only begotten of the Father,) one, who is of the same nature with the Father; not one, who is derived from him, nor exalted by him, but one who is what he is, knows what he knows, and does what he does; one who stands in the most intimate of all relations to him. We shall have occasion to refer to some passages, in which Christ evidently uses this name, in the same sense.

If authority was of any weight with our readers, we might quote the opinions of critics of every description to prove, that the Logos is here called the only begotten of the Father. The opinion of the older, though not on that account less estimable commentators, would probably be set down to the score of theological prejudice. We shall, therefore, only remark, that the view of this passage given above, is presented by almost all the German critics of any note, with whom we are acquainted. Kuinoel, on this verse, after explaining μονογενης *cui nemo par, nec Deo carior*, remarks: "Respexit vero etiam Johannes sublimiorem Christi naturam, interiorem του Λογου a Deo prognati, cum Deo conjunctionem." Lücke, now Professor in Göttingen, after speaking in no very measured terms, in reference to the modern interpretations of the word μονογενης, and quoting from Hermann a cutting reproach against the recent theologians, for their numerous perversions of the language of Scripture, says, that all that Paulus in his commentary has said, to show that μονογενης means *unique*, (einzig in seiner Art,) at most proves that it *can* be so rendered; but that this is nothing to the purpose, until he proves from the usage of the New Testament, that "when applied to Christ, to the Logos, to the Son of God," it does not contain the idea of sonship. See his Comment. über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes, Vol. I. p. 420,

et seqq. Tittmann, in his remarks on this verse, after stating that some would refer the name, Son of God, to the office, and not to the nature of Christ; to his mission, and not to his union in nature with the Father; and thus make it equivalent with Messiah, says, *Verum hæc interpretatio est haud dubie alienissima a mente Apostolorum et Domini ipsius.* And as the conclusion of his argument on this subject, adds, *Igitur υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, isque μονογενής, est Filius Dei in suo genere unus, quatenus talis est, qualis est Pater, idem est, qui Pater, eadem habet, quæ Pater, eadem facit quæ Pater, cui eadem competunt, quæ Patri.* See his *Meletemata Sacra*, p. 59, seq. Tholuck, although his manner of speaking on this particular passage is undecided, yet on John ix. 35, says expressly, that the phrase, Son of God, is used in a higher and lower sense in the New Testament. On the one hand, it denotes the divine nature in Christ, the Logos, (*einerseits bezeichnet es das Göttliche in Christo, den Logos,*) and in the other is a name of the Messiah. In proof of the first point, he refers to the passage before us, and of course understands it, as it has just been explained. So also Knapp, as quoted in our last number, appeals to this passage to prove, that Christ in his divine nature is the Son of God. And even Paulus, who of all commentators with whom we are acquainted, has labored hardest to remove every thing miraculous or mysterious, and in fact every thing elevated and characteristic from the Sacred writings, considers John as here calling the Logos, the *μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός.* The Logos, he says, in the theology of the Alexandrian Jews, was a Spirit *sui generis*, which had proceeded from the Eternal Father; and accordingly, the sense of this passage is, "The more closely we could observe Jesus, the more did we see, that all his excellent attributes were like the excellence of a Spirit *sui generis*, that had proceeded from God."* From

* So war der Gott-Logos in der jud. alex. Theologie ein aus dem ewigen Vater hervorgegangener, ganz *eisiger* Geist ohne seinesgleichen.

this it is clear, that the *μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός* is, in his opinion, the Logos, whatever may be thought of his view of the passage, in other respects. Our object in making these quotations, is merely to show, that it is a mistake to suppose that the divine Sonship of Christ is an antiquated notion, believed only by those who are held fast in the trammels of obsolete systems.

There is another passage in this chapter, which we think is equally clear in proof of our position, that the Logos is the Son of God, and that is the 18th verse: *Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὴν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.* The diversity of reading which exists as to the second clause of this verse, some MSS. having *μονογενὴς υἱός*, others *μονογενὴς Θεός*, (and so, many of the Fathers,) others *θεοῦ*, and others *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, does not effect the force of the passage, as far as our purpose is concerned; since *μονογενὴς* is retained in all, and *υἱός*, if not expressed, is implied. In the words *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον*, the accusative with *εἰς* is probably to be taken for the dative with *ὢν*, as is frequently the case in the New Testament Greek. The *ὁ ὢν* is by Erasmus, Bengel, Tittmann and many others, taken for *ὃς ἦν*, “who was in the bosom of the Father,” agreeably to the frequent use of Hebrew participles. There is, however, no necessity of departing from the common use of the present, either here, or in iii. 13, (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῇ σκάνῃ.*) The intimate relation expressed by the figurative expression, “in the bosom of the Father,” is a perpetual and unchanging relation. The Apostle had said, v. 17, that the Law came by Moses, but grace and truth through Jesus Christ; and then in the 18th, states how it is that the most precious revelation of the divine character and purpose, came to be made by him. No other has ever seen

Sinn: je genauer wir Jesus beobachten konnten, desto mehr war uns der Umfang all seiner vortrefflichen Eigenschaften *der Vortrefflichkeit eines in seiner Art einzigen, von Gott hergekommenen Geistes gleich.* See Commentar über das neue Testament.

God, or has that knowledge of his being and counsels, which was possessed by Jesus Christ. The only begotten Son, who sustains the most intimate of all relations to the Father, he has revealed him and his purposes. Or, (as others would supply after ἐξηγησάτο, τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἀληθειαν,) has revealed his grace and truth. The Son is the divine Exegete (ἐξηγητής) of the Father, his Word, the Logos.

We are aware, that no decisive argument can be derived from this passage, taken by itself, to prove that the Logos is called the Son of God. We know, that even if the words μονογενὴς υἱός primarily and properly designated the human nature of Christ, they might be used for the whole person of the Redeemer, as is the case with the name, Son of man, as used in John, iii. 13, just quoted. But still we think, that the context affords clear evidence, that John here intended to designate by these words, the divine nature that became incarnate. For in the first place, his object renders such an interpretation peculiarly appropriate. He designs to tell us, why the revelation made by the Redeemer was so superior to any that preceded it. No man had ever seen God, but the Son, who now and ever exists in the most intimate union with him, who knows all the purposes of the Father, has appeared on earth in human form, and made them clearly known. Secondly, it should be recollected, that from the 1st to the 18th verse inclusive, is one continued discourse on the dignity of Christ. These verses constitute the prologue to the whole Gospel, and are intimately connected. It is not probable, therefore, that the same expression should occur in two different senses in so short a passage. Hence, if John, in verse 14th, calls the Logos the μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός, we may infer with confidence, that the Logos is intended by the μονογενὴς υἱός in the 18th verse. No man hath seen God, but the Logos, the only begotten Son, he has seen him, and sustains the most intimate of all relations to him. He therefore can reveal his purposes fully. A third reason for this

interpretation is, the striking analogy between this and the first verse of this chapter. There it is said, "The Logos was with God," and here, "The only begotten Son, who is (or was) in the bosom of the Father." The same idea is expressed by the words, "with God," as is intended by being "in the bosom of the Father." They both express intimate relationship, or union. In the one case, this union is said to be between the Logos and God; in the other, between the Son and Father. This analogy between the two passages, taken in connection with the 14th v. where the terms Logos and only begotten of the Father are evidently interchanged, we think prove, that John intended to designate the divine nature of Christ, by the words *μονογενὴς υἱός*.

In John v. 17, we find another instance in which Christ is called, Son of God, in reference to his divine nature; or, what amounts to the same thing, in which he calls God his Father, in a sense which implies participation of the same nature. This passage is the more interesting, as it contains our Saviour's own words, and gives us his own exposition of what is to be understood by his being the Son of God.

In the former part of the chapter, the Evangelist relates the circumstance of Christ's healing a man on the Sabbath, whom he commanded to take up his bed and walk. The Jews persecuted him for this supposed violation of the Sabbath. The word is *ἐδίωκον*, and may mean, "they prosecuted" him, brought him before the Sanhedrim. Jesus defended himself against this charge, by saying, v. 17, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." That is, 'as my Father is constantly active, exercising on the Sabbath, as on other days, his power for the good of his creatures, so I have authority to dispense blessings on this as on any other day.' If this be the meaning of this passage, then it is plain, that Christ calls God his Father, or himself the Son of God, in a sense which implies that he is equal with God. That this interpretation is correct, and consequently that the argument

derived from it is valid, we think will appear from the following considerations.

First, the Jews so understood the declaration of Christ. They were therefore not content with what they had already done, but they moreover sought to kill him; not only because he had broken the Sabbath, but because he had called God his Father, in a sense which made him equal with God. (ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν τῷ Θεῷ.) If the meaning thus put upon his words was not correct, it would seem that Christ would not, and could not with any propriety, suffer so serious a perversion of them to pass without correction. Does Christ then, tell the Jews that they had misunderstood him; that he did not intend to call God his father, in any sense which involved the claim of equality with him? By no means, but directly the reverse; and this is the second consideration in favor of the view given of the 17th verse.

Instead of correcting any misapprehension of his meaning, he goes on to declare, that the union between the Father and Son was such, that all the Father did, he did, and that all he did, the Father did; that he never acted nor could act otherwise than in union with the Father. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."* The meaning of this verse becomes perfectly plain from what follows; for Christ immediately proceeds to show, that he has the same power and authority with the Father, and consequently is entitled to the same homage. "For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth *them*; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son; that all *men* should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that

* The οὐ δύναται may be taken here in its strictest sense. Such is the union between the Father and Son, that the Son can do nothing *ὅφ' ἑαυτῷ* of himself alone, out of connection with the Father.

honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that hath sent him." Here is surely a claim to divine power, authority and homage. So far, therefore, is our blessed Saviour from correcting the interpretation given to his words by the Jews, that it seems to be his very object to prove that he is, in a proper sense, the Son of God; that is, in such a sense, that he has the same nature with the Father. The plain meaning of this passage therefore, is, "I have a right to labor on the Sabbath, for my Father does it. He has not remained inactive from the creation, but works until now." The Jews reply, "Then God is your Father in such a sense, that you are equal with God." "So I am. I act in union with him, what he does I do. As he raises the dead, so do I, and execute judgment, and am entitled to equal honor; so that he who denies me this honor, does thereby refuse to honor the Father. For (as he elsewhere says,) I and the Father are one. He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also." See c. xii. 45.

We think that it is clear from this passage, that Christ calls God his Father, not because he had miraculously called his human nature into existence, nor because he had sent him into the world, nor because he had made him his Son, (or a King,) but because he was partaker of the same divine nature and attributes. If this be so, then is Christ the Son of God, in a far higher sense than merely as Mediatorial King.

It is not at all necessary to our argument, that we should prove that the term Son, throughout this interesting passage, is applied exclusively to Christ's divine nature. The whole argument is founded on the 17th v. as explained by those which follow it. God is the Father of Christ. In what sense? In a sense which includes equality. So the Jews understood our Saviour, and so he clearly explained his meaning. This is the argument. It is no objection that the word Son is used immediately after, for the whole per-

son of the Redeemer; as in v. 20. The Father loveth the Son; i. e. that complex person, who is his Son, and who being such, though at the same time a man, has the right and ability to do whatever the Father does. This person, thus constituted, (Son of God and Son of man,) acts in obedience to the Father. He does nothing without the Father's direction, co-operation, and consent. Hence the Father (*παντα δεικνυσιν αὐτῷ*) exhibits and marks out all things for him. Hence too, it is said, that the Father hath committed all judgment to the Son, i. e. to that individual who is his Son. Thus, v. 26, it is said, the Father hath given the Son to have life in himself. Here again, Son, is the name of the whole person. Life, is here divine power, a vital life-giving principle; and the meaning is, God has so constituted the Redeemer's person, that he possesses all the divine life-giving power of the Father. (Or, as the same idea is expressed in Colossians i. 19. It pleased the Father that in him should all fulness (*παν το πληρωμα*) dwell. What that fulness is, we learn from the next chapter, it is *παν το πληρωμα της θεοτητος*, all the fulness of the Godhead.) And having thus constituted his person, and given him this life, he has given him (this person, not the Son, as such) authority to execute judgment, (to hold the general judgment,) because he is the Son of man, i. e. the Messiah. It pleased God, that the Messiah should be what is here described, and being such, should exercise all the prerogatives of the Godhead.

Any one, therefore, who bears in mind, how frequently names derived from one nature of Christ, or from his office, are applied to him as one individual person, will find no difficulty in explaining those passages in which the name Son of God is used for the Messiah, who, as such, is inferior to the Father and dependent upon him. Whenever, therefore, the Father is said to give life, authority, or power to the Son, it is to this mysteriously constituted person; not to his di-

vine nature as such. When the Son of man is said to be in heaven, the divine person, who is called the Son of man, is declared to be omnipresent, not the human nature of the Saviour, in itself considered. When Christ is said to be God over all, it is asserted that the person who has assumed the office of the Messiah, is truly divine. Passages, therefore, in which the Son is said to be inferior to the Father, to be delivered unto death, &c., afford no objection to the opinion that the name is given in virtue of the eternal relation which he sustains to the first Person in the Trinity. This obvious remark is made in this connection, in order that it may be present to our readers' minds, when they turn to the passage under consideration (John v. 17, et seq.,) as it is obvious, that in many parts of this chapter the word Son is used for the whole person of the Redeemer.

A passage very similar to the one just considered, occurs in John x. 30—39. In verse 30, Jesus had said, "I and the Father are one." The Jews understood this as a declaration that he was God, and accordingly again took up stones to stone him, as they had done before, c. viii. 59. Christ demanded why they did this. He had performed many of the works of his Father,* for which of these did they stone him. The Jews reply, for no good work, but for his making himself God. How had he done this? Why, by saying *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἑσμεν* v. 30. According to the interpretation given to these words by many commentators, Trinitarians as well as others, they contain no claim to equality with the Father.

* *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, where *ἐκ* is probably a mere sign of the Gen. see v. 37, where *ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς μου* stands in the same sense. See for similar examples xviii. 3, Rev. ii. 9, Luke ii. 35, Acts xix. 34, John iii. 25, and perhaps Rom. xi. 26, *ἐκ Σιών ὁ ῥοῦμενος* deliverer of Zion. Or if *ἐκ* expresses the efficient cause, "works which I do through the Father," then is this passage to be explained by a reference to cap. v. 17, 19, and to John xiv. 10, where Christ says of the Father, he doeth the works.

Erasmus, Calvin, Melancthon, and many others say, that they express nothing more than unity of purpose and counsel or will. It may be admitted that the phrase *ἐν εἶναι* expresses any kind of union, of purpose, affection, spirit, or nature. It depends entirely upon the connection in what sense it is to be taken in any particular passage. It is surely a presumption in favor of an unity of power and divinity being here intended, that the persons to whom these words were addressed so understood them. The whole drift of our Saviour's discourse impressed them with the idea that he meant to make himself God, (*ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν*), an exposition which our Saviour does not refute but confirms. That the Jews understood him correctly, will appear from a view of the context. Jesus was walking in the porch of the Temple, when the Jews came and demanded, that he should tell them plainly whether he were the Christ or not. This he would not do; but referred them to his previous declarations and to his miracles. They neither believed the one nor the other, because they were not of his sheep; his sheep did hear his voice, and he gave to them eternal life, (is not this claiming to be God?) and they shall never perish. Why? because "none can pluck them out of my hand." But how is it that Christ can say of himself, that he gives eternal life and can protect his sheep against all their enemies? Because he and the Father are one, and he can do all that the Father does, his Father is greater than all. There is surely something more than unity of will or purpose here intended, it is unity of power; and if he and the Father are one in power, the Jews were certainly right in concluding that they must be one in nature. *Εἰ δὲ ἐν κατὰ δύναμιν*, says the Greek commentator Euthymius, *ἐν ἀγα καὶ κατὰ τὴν θεοτητα καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν*. Now what reply does our Master make to this accusation of the Jews, that he "made himself God?" He in the first instance makes no direct reply at all. He neither says that he was or was not God, but does what was

his frequent custom when questions were proposed to him, or objections started, and that is, turns the attention of his hearers to themselves, that they may notice the disposition whence their questions or objections arose, and then so turns his discourse, that all who had ears to hear, should find in what he said an answer to the question or solution of the difficulty proposed. Christ will convince the Jews of their stubborn unbelief, and perverse opposition to every thing he said. They objected to the fact, that he had called himself God. Jesus does not explain in what sense he had done so, but says in effect, you would not be so ready to accuse me of blasphemy for this, if you were not bent on opposition to me and my cause; for your own Scriptures call kings and magistrates Gods, and if the title can be given with propriety to divinely commissioned men, (*προς ὧς ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγένετο*, either to those who received commands of God and acted in his stead; or *προς ὧς* Mark xii. 12, Luke xii. 41, for *περι ὧς* concerning whom this declaration of God is made,) surely it may be given in the same, if in no other sense, to the great personage whom God has selected, and set apart, (sanctified,) and sent into the world. But that I am the Son of God in a far higher sense, a sense which authorizes me to say "that I and the Father are one" v. 30, is plain from the fact, that I do the works of my Father, (the same divine and almighty works, raise the dead, heal the sick, execute judgment, see v. 32, and 37, c. xiv. 10,) if you will not believe me, believe these works and know that "I am in the Father and the Father in me." Were the Jews satisfied with this explanation? Did they imagine that he assumed the name Son of God as an official title, and that he meant no more by it than when applied to kings and magistrates? By no means, they saw that he used it in a sense, which involved equality with God, and they accordingly immediately endeavored to seize him, but he escaped out of their hands.

There is another remark to be made on this passage, and that is, it is perfectly clear that Christ uses the terms God and Son of God, *θεος*, and *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, in exactly the same sense. The Jews said *ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν* thou makest thyself God, Christ replies, is it blasphemy to make myself the Son of God? Where it is evident, that making himself God and making himself the Son of God, are considered as precisely the same. The remark of Storr, therefore, on this passage is well founded, that God and Son of God are, as to Christ's meaning here synonymous.*

There are several other passages which might be adduced in support of the opinion which we are advocating, as Matt. ii. 27. and Heb. 1. but this our object does not demand, and our limits will not permit. We have already stated, that we purposed only to endeavor to show, that Christ is called Son of God, in reference to his divine nature, or in virtue of the eternal relation between himself and Father. If any one can prove that there are other reasons for his being so called, it militates nothing against the position which we have assumed. As the term, Son, is used in Scripture to express such a variety of relations, as dependence, derivation, similarity, community of nature, &c. there is no antecedent improbability in Christ's being called the Son of God, not only because he is of the same nature with the Father, but also because he is the object of his peculiar love; because, as man he is derived from him and dependent on him. And if kings are called sons of God in the Old Testament, as the representatives of God, why then Christ, as the great Mediatorial King, may pre-eminently be called the Son of God. We say there is no antecedent improbability that this is the case; and if any one is satisfied that such is actually the fact, we should not be disposed to dispute the point. Still we confess ourselves unable to see the conclusiveness of the argument to

* Dass er der Sohn Gottes, oder Gott sey—denn beides lief nach dem, von den Juden wol gefassten Sinn Jesu auf Eines hinaus. See Zweck der evang. Geschichte p. 467.

prove, that the Redeemer is called the Son of God, in virtue of his exaltation to the Mediatorial throne. This opinion, however, is a very general one, and is adopted by many who still believe in his being the Son of God in a far higher sense. For ourselves, however, seeing that this name is peculiar, in the New Testament at least, to Christ, (with the exception of Luke iii. 38, where the reason of its being applied to Adam is perfectly obvious,) and that it is used by Christ and his apostles in many instances, in direct reference to his relation as God, to the Father, we prefer considering this relation as the primary and most important, if not the sole ground of its application to him by inspired men, whenever they intend using it in any other than a mere historical manner. Luke i. 35, may be an exception to this remark. In the great majority of instances, the phrase occurs merely as a designation of the Messiah. In the Old Testament, it was predicted that the Messiah was to be the Son of God. It was very natural therefore, that this name or title should be very common among those who were waiting for his appearance. Hence, when Nathaniel exclaimed, "Thou art the Son of God," he doubtless intended to say, Thou art the Messiah, and so in a multitude of cases. These passages, however, only prove that the Messiah was called the Son of God; not why he was so called. Our Saviour styling himself so frequently, the Son of man, informs us that this was a proper appellation for the great Deliverer, but gives us no information of the grounds of its application. This is a very distinct question.

The arguments which are commonly adduced to show that Son of God, as applied to Christ, is a title of office, and equivalent with Messiah, are principally the following. It is said, that in the Old Testament, kings and magistrates are called Sons of God. This is exceedingly rare. The passage in Ps. lxxxii. 6, is peculiar; Princes are here called אֱלֹהִים as being objects of reverence, and בְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן *Sons of the Highest*, in the corresponding clause, may, in this instance,

receive the same meaning. But it is very far from being the common usage of the Scriptures, to call kings the Sons of God. And even if it were, this would prove very little as to the proper meaning of the phrase, Son of God, in the singular; as there is such a marked difference in the use of these expressions, throughout the Word of God. We are not prepared to say, that the term Son of God is never applied in the Old Testament, to any royal personage. But in the cases in which it is so applied, it does not express their royal dignity, but merely their being the objects of God's peculiar care and love. Thus, if 2 Sam. vii. 14, be referred to Solomon, (in any sense,) "I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son," the meaning obviously is, I will regard and treat him with peculiar favor. He shall be my child, and I will treat him accordingly. We should be at a loss to fix on any one instance, in which this phrase is expressive of the kingly office. Ps. lxxxix. 27, "I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth," can hardly be considered as a case in point. For the expression, "I will make him my first-born," means nothing more, than that I will treat him as "my first-born," that is, with peculiar favor. We think, therefore, that the argument from the Old Testament, is very far from being conclusive on this point. It seems hardly to afford a presumption in favor of the opinion, that Christ is called Son of God, on account of his dignity as Messiah.

Another argument is derived from the second Psalm, v. 7. "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." The first remark which we would make on this passage, is, that the second clause probably expresses no more than the first. Thou art my Son, this day, now, art thou my Son; now more clearly than ever. This is agreeable to a common characteristic of the Hebrew. So in Jeremiah, ii. 27. "Saying to a stock, thou art my father, and to a stone, thou hast begotten me."—And 2 Sam. vii. 14, "I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son." See also Deut. xxxii.

9. In all these passages, the second clause is synonymous with the first. Secondly, we would admit, that the word **היום** *this day*, refers to the time contemplated in the preceding verse ; i. e. the time in which Christ, the subject of the Psalm, was anointed, or inaugurated as king, on the holy hill of Zion ; that is, to the time in which he was clearly set forth as King of Israel. The whole question is, does the passage declare that he was then constituted the Son of God, or was then clearly proved to be such ? We prefer the latter mode of interpretation. First, because from the connection, these words do not appear to contain the inaugurating formula, so to speak, addressed to Christ ; but rather, the ground of the universal dominion which is committed to him. They form no part of the decree giving him universal dominion : they are merely the solemn introductory address. The sense is, Thou art my Son ; therefore, ask of me and I will give thee universal dominion, &c. That is, these introductory words of the address express the dignity of Christ's person, and assign the reason, why he has the right and power to rule over all nations, and why all people should put their trust in him. In solemn discourse, such introductions are very frequent ; and they often contain the reason or ground of what follows ; as, "I am the Lord, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt ; thou shalt have no other gods before me" ; that is, because I am the Lord, &c. So here, because thou art my Son. This is agreeable also to the constant manner of the sacred writers, presenting the personal dignity of Christ as the ground of his universal power and authority. Since he is possessed of divine perfections, is the Son of God, of the same nature, therefore he is made universal King.

But again, if peculiar stress be laid upon the second clause, "I have begotten thee," it must be admitted, that it can with equal propriety be rendered, I have made thee my Son, or I have declared thee to be such. In other words, **ילדתיך** may here be taken declaratively, according to the canon so fully illustrated by Glassius, Phil. Sacra Lib. III. Tr. III.

Can. 15. and which is of such frequent application in Hebrew. The meaning then would be, Thou art my Son, this day have I declared, or exhibited thee, as such. This view of the passage is given by Venema, by Morus in his *Com. Exegeticus* p. 260, by Anton, as quoted by Rosenmüller, p. 30 of Vol. I. Part. III. of his *Scholia*, by Kuinoel on Acts xiii. 32, and many others. We think the proper method of deciding which view of the passage is the most correct, is to inquire which is favored by the analogy of Scripture. Is Christ said to be constituted the Son of God, by his exaltation or resurrection; or, is his resurrection and exaltation given as evidence that he is the Son of God? Agreeably to the remark made in our last Number, the resurrection of Christ is almost uniformly presented, as the great decisive evidence of his Sonship, as well as of his Messiahship. See Rom. i. 3, 4, Acts, xiii. &c. He was neither made Son nor Messiah by his resurrection, but was thereby proved to be both the one and the other.

We think it clear, therefore, that no argument can be derived from this passage to show why Christ is called Son. It simply declares, that he is the Son of God; but what this imports, must we learn from other passages.

The words in 2 Sam. vii. 14, "I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son," are adduced as an argument on this subject. It is said, that it is not easy to conceive how a thing can be predicted as future, which has existed from all eternity. This is very true. But the point of the prediction is simply this; the king that shall arise, shall be my Son. So it is predicted that the Messiah should be the "Mighty God;" not that he was to become such, but was to be such. Whether 2 Sam. vii. 14, be referred to Christ, or Solomon, it is of no weight in this discussion. It simply declares, that the king that was to arise, should stand in a very near and tender relation to God. What that relation is, must be learned elsewhere.

Acts xiii. 32, 33, "We declare unto you glad tidings,

how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus *again*; as it is written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," is considered as proving that Christ is called Son of God, in virtue of his resurrection, as the commencement of his elevation to supreme dignity. We question very much, even adopting the common translation of this passage, whether this be its proper meaning. According to our version, the point to be proved by the passage from the second Psalm, is indeed, that Christ has been raised from the dead. But this point is fully proved by this Psalm, according to our interpretation of it. It contains a prediction that God would clearly set forth the Messiah, as his Son. How was this done? In various ways, and among others with peculiar clearness, by his resurrection; as Paul elsewhere says, Rom. i. 3, 4. This passage therefore, according to our view of it, is as applicable to the apostle's purpose, as on the opposite one. But it is far from being certain that there is any reference in this passage (Acts xiii. 32, 33.) to the resurrection at all. The words ἀναστῆσας Ἰησοῦν, rendered, "having raised up Jesus *again*," properly mean, "having raised up Jesus," which may express his being called into existence, or sent forth as the Messiah. The grounds for preferring this view of the passage are strong, if not conclusive. In the first place, the verb ἀνίστημι when it refers to the resurrection, has commonly ἐκ νεκρῶν, or some equivalent expression after it. 2. It is often used to express the idea of calling into existence; as Matt xxii. 24, "raise up seed." Acts iii. 22, "A prophet like unto me will God raise up." See also, Acts vii. 27. The verb ἐγείρω is used in the same sense, see Acts xiii. 22, (and 23 according to the common Text.) 3. The context favors this interpretation. Paul is here endeavoring to prove that Jesus is the Christ. In verse 23, he asserts that of the seed of David, God, according to his promise, hath raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus. That Jesus is the Saviour, he proves first by

the testimony of John the Baptist, and secondly by the resurrection of Christ. The fact of his resurrection, he says, 31st verse, may be proved by those who saw him many days. Having thus established the point that Jesus is the Christ, he says, ‘we declare unto you glad tidings, how the promise made unto the fathers, (what promise? why, the promise referred to in the 23d v. that God would raise up a Saviour,) God hath fulfilled unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus.’ There is no allusion here to the resurrection, for the promise to which the apostle had reference, was not that Christ should rise from the dead, but that a Saviour should appear; and of this the second Psalm is a clear prediction. The 34th verse makes this still plainer; for Paul, having announced to the Jews the glad tidings that the Saviour had come, turns to another subject, and says, “But that he raised him from the dead, (as he had asserted v. 30,)—he said on this wise, &c.,” and then goes on to prove that his resurrection was predicted in Ps. xvi. It seems clear, therefore, that verse 33 has no reference to Christ’s rising from the dead, and consequently that Ps. ii. 7, is not quoted to prove that point. If this be the correct interpretation of this passage, it of course affords no argument in favor of the opinion that Christ is called the Son of God, on account of his being raised from the dead, and exalted as Messiah.

Such passages as Matt. xvi. 15, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” John i. 49, “Rabbi thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel,” do not prove that Son of God, and Christ are synonymous, any more than the expression “Christ, the Saviour of the world” proves that the word Christ means Saviour. They prove simply, what no one denies, that Son of God was a very common appellation for the Messiah among the Jews; but they throw no light on its import or the ground of its application. In the great majority of cases, it is used very much as a proper name, and therefore, such cases prove nothing, one way or the other, as to its meaning.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

WITH

FOREIGN CHURCHES.

WE acknowledge ourselves to be under many obligations to the stated Clerk of the General Assembly, for the manner in which he has prepared and published the Minutes of that body, for the present year as well as for several that are past. Although it does not fall within our immediate purpose, yet we cannot help giving him our thanks for his statistical tables. They now approximate to the truth; and it is no fault of his, that they are not entirely full and accurate. We had no adequate idea of the rapid growth of the Church to which we belong, until it was presented by the pamphlet annually published under his direction. The Presbyterian Church in the United States, stands before the country and the world as an important body of Christians. This remark is not made with a view to awaken sectarian confidence. Should we become *proud* of our numbers and strength, He who giveth grace to the humble, will know well enough how to bring us down, for He “resisteth the proud.” We hint at the influence which Presbyterians may exert, to give some view of their responsibility, and of the extent of their obligations.

According to the Gospel, the ability of a man to do good is the exact measure of his duty. The same rule applies to societies. They are bound to do all the good in their power. How great then are the obligations of a Church consisting of One Hundred and Sixty Thousand communicants, com-

bining much intelligence and wealth, with a form of ecclesiastical polity in itself admirably adapted to produce the strength of united exertion and the energy of free action! The country and the world ought to feel her influence, and rejoice in her labours of love. Her missionaries ought to be found in every destitute portion of the land, and in every dark corner of the world, bearing "the unsearchable riches of Christ," and proclaiming the messages of redeeming love.

It appears from the Minutes of the last General Assembly that Providence is opening a new door of usefulness to the Presbyterian Church in this country. In the year 1828, the General Assembly resolved to open a correspondence with the Protestant Churches in France. A letter was accordingly sent to that body of Christians, in the name of this Judicatory. This letter, addressed to the *Consistory of Paris*, was translated into French, and published in the *Archives of Christianity*, a monthly periodical devoted to the cause of Christ. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, the French Protestants have had no national Synod. Correspondence with them, can therefore, be conducted only through their Consistories, or through individuals and voluntary associations.

The publication of the letter of the General Assembly, excited considerable attention. Accordingly, answers were returned by the Editors of the *Archives of Christianity*, by St. Pilet Joly, pastor of the French Walloon Church of Francfort on the Maine, by the Consistory of the Consistorial Church of Mens, and by the pastor of the Third Ecclesiastical Division of the Reformed Consistorial Church of the Departments of Aisne, and of Seine and Maine.

The effect of this correspondence was not confined to France. On the 10th of March in the present year, a letter was written by the *Congregational Board of Ministers in London*, addressed to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, in which it is

proposed, that there should be a correspondence between those two bodies of Christians.

The reception of these letters may be justly regarded as a remarkable event in the history of the General Assembly. And it does appear to us, as intimated before, that Providence has, in this way, prepared new facilities for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom among men. But that our readers may enter into our views and feelings on this subject, we present the following cursory statement of facts.

The Reformed Church in France was once an object of veneration and sympathy with all Protestants. Pure in doctrine, strict in discipline, full of holy zeal, and furnished with pastors not more distinguished for the fervour of their piety, than for profound and various learning; it was regarded with glorying and joy, by all who loved the Reformation. At the same time, its members, subjected to the tyranny of priest-ridden princes, and to the remorseless hatred of an intolerant hierarchy, endured through a series of years, sufferings too dreadful for minuter description. At length by the repeal of the Edict of Nantz, the cause of Protestantism in France appeared to be totally ruined, and that church, which had furnished an army of more than 200,000 martyrs, and many of the greatest scholars of the age in which they lived; which had more than 2000 congregations, and 2,000,000 of communicants sunk under the fierce fanaticism of Louis, misnamed *the great*, and his *hooded* ministers. A great number of learned and pious pastors, and vast multitudes of the most valuable subjects of the French monarch, escaped from the country. But two millions of people cannot emigrate. Of those who remained, the timid and flexible, yielded to force, and were *converted* to Popery; the firm and conscientious maintained their principles, and worshipped in their own way, in "caves and dens of the earth." This remnant of a better age suffered innumerable vexations, and often horrible per-

secution, from the year 1685, until 1787, when, principally through the exertions of La Fayette, "a civil existence" was granted to them.

None need be surprised that men oppressed as the French Protestants were, should rejoice in the change effected by the revolution. Napoleon, with all his faults, was a friend of religious liberty, and under his reign, the persecuted found favour. But on the restoration of the Bourbons, scenes of former violence were renewed, and the true spirit of Popery showed itself with its customary violence and cruelty. During a considerable period the Protestants were unprotected, and suffered all that the rage of their enemies could inflict. It was not until these disgraceful events had attracted the attention, and excited the indignation of the world, that any effectual measures were adopted, to prevent their recurrence.

It will not be thought extraordinary, that in a state of things such as we have very briefly described, religion should greatly decline. But there was another reason. The Protestants every where found the Catholics their bitterest enemies. In the mean while it served the purpose of the philosophists of France, in their warfare against all religion, to hold up the mummeries of Popery to ridicule, and its cruelty to detestation. In this they would have performed a good service, had they not identified true religion with its corruptions. It was, however, to be expected, that the Protestants, driven from their temples, denied the privileges of subjects, and often hunted by their enemies as wild beasts,—it was to be expected, that they would feel some obligation to the men, whatever might be their motives, who turned the indignation of mankind against those bloody-minded persecutors. Accordingly, it has been found, that among many of the Reformed Churches, there is that approximation to infidelity, which goes under the name of Liberal Christianity.

It is also a notorious fact, that wherever great reliance is placed on external observances, they are made a substitute for vital religion. And generally, not to say universally, the consequence is a deplorable corruption of morals. *Penance* is made to take the place of *repentance*; license to sin is purchased by strict compliance with the ritual; and men go from confession and the mass, to the theatre and the gaming table, to masked balls, and brothels. The influence of an established religion, and of the majority of a nation's population on the dissenting minority is great.

Hence we find with much that is true, and valuable, and worthy of all praise, among Protestants in France, much that we ought deeply to deplore, and endeavour by all means in our power to remove or remedy.

The Congregational Churches in England may be regarded as the offspring of that mighty religious ferment in England, which, beginning with the Reformation, became more and more violent, until it heaved the throne of the first Charles from its fastenings, and destroyed him in its ruins. The History of this denomination is so fully detailed in the well known work of Neal, that a bare reference to this author is sufficient for our present purpose. Their writings are familiarly known to Christians in this country, and in many instances highly esteemed by them.

In regard to *doctrine*, both the congregational Churches in England, and the Protestants in France, embraced originally the system of Theology, which, since the Reformation, has gone under the name of Calvinism. The Congregationalists still adhere to this system, although in general, they prefer being called *moderate* Calvinists. Judging from the extraordinary *run* of Dwight's Theology in England, it may be presumed that their system differs very little, if at all, from his. The Confession of Faith of the Reformed in France, was drawn up by Calvin himself; and of course, it may well be denominated by that illustrious reformer. In

its fundamental articles it harmonizes with other confessions framed by Protestants, during the period of the Reformation. How far the French Calvinists, as a body, have departed from the faith of their fathers, we cannot precisely state.

In the principles of Church government, they are genuine Presbyterians. The official equality of all ministers of the Gospel was, and is now, strenuously maintained by them: but yet is not considered as essential to the being of the Churches. Their Consistory answers to our Church Session; their Colloque to our Presbytery; their Provincial Synod to ours; and their National Synod to our General Assembly.

The ecclesiastical polity of the Congregationalists is too well known to require a particular statement. It may however be observed that they are staunch friends of religious liberty; and so have been from the beginning. It is reasonable to believe, that the persecuted Protestants of France cherish the same sentiments.

After this cursory view of these Christian denominations, we proceed to present our views of the general benefit, which may result, from a proper use of the opportunities afforded by this *inchoate* correspondence.

We beg leave however, first to notice a particular circumstance which perhaps deserves some attention. Several years ago, a proposition was entertained by the General Assembly to open a correspondence with several denominations of Christians in Europe, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The measure however, at that time, proved abortive. One established Church, at least, came within the *purview* of this proposition. And the failure of the whole plan arose, it has been conjectured, from an ascertained indisposition on the part of that Church, to have any correspondence with us. Whether this was owing to the Prince of *the establishment*; or to an apprehension that the powers which he, would frown on patronised

ecclesiastics, for holding communication with stern republicans, we pretend not to determine. It seems, however, pretty certain, that we shall never have it in our power to do good *directly* to any but Dissenting Christians in Europe.

It is equally certain that Dissenters have done much to keep alive piety in established Churches. Had it not been for English non-conformists, there would now, in all probability, be no British and Foreign Bible Society to bless the world ; no Church Missionary Society to send faithful preachers to the heathen ; no religious Tract Society ; no Jews Society : no Continental Society, aiding in the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

For although established Churches regard Dissenters with perpetual jealousy ; yet they are often, in self-defence, obliged to imitate their zeal and activity ; lest the majority of the people should be drawn away to the cause of non-conformity. It is equally true, that the extensive knowledge, and elaborate writings of men supported in "learned leisure" by the wealth of the nation, have been greatly useful to Dissenters.

In times of excitement, however, mutual benefits are forgotten, and the strong oppress the weak. It was in *the 19th century*, since the overthrow of Napoleon, that the Protestants of *France* endured the horrible persecutions before adverted to. And even now it is found necessary for the *Three Denominations of Dissenters* in England to keep up a *Society for the preservation of religious liberty*. Even in this age of the world, after all that has been said about "the march of mind," and the progress of liberal opinions, there is very little religious liberty, or genuine liberality. There are but two countries in the world, where religion is perfectly free ; the *United States* — and the *Sandwich Islands*, since the success of the American Missionaries ! It may appear surprising, but we believe it to be true, that since the year 1815, the spirit of liberality has

rather declined, than risen in Christendom. Popery has certainly become bolder—Jesuitism has been revived—High Church principles have become higher and fiercer—and in our country the various denominations of Christians have, after a little trial, refused, as far as they dared, to co-operate in general enterprises of Christian charity. High Church-men have strongly opposed the American Bible Society. The General Conference of the Methodist Church has, by a formal vote, determined to have a Bible Society *exclusively their own*. So also of the Tract Society, and the American Sabbath School Union. Many things indicate in the Church Universal, an increase of sectarian spirit. There is a rousing up too, of the spirit of infidelity. There is a disposition in all the enemies of vital religion to unite. Universalists approximate to Unitarians, and Unitarians to Deists. Whither do all these things tend ?

We know that many, on reading these pages, will dissent from our opinions ; and probably will appeal to the recent acts of the British Government ; to the tranquillity at present enjoyed by the French Protestants ; and to events in the religious history of this country, to disprove our positions. But Catholic disabilities were not removed until the English ministry were convinced of the absolute necessity of the measure, to preserve the peace of the country, and maintain the influence of England on the continent of Europe. Mr. Peel, in the British House of Commons, acknowledged this necessity, and confessed that he consented to the repeal of the law of exclusion, because *he could do no better*. So that the measure rather proves the growth of Popery, than the increase of liberality. And in France, the persecutions which ensued on the restoration of the Bourbons, were continued until the Dissenting denominations in England procured a notice of the subject in the British Parliament.

We have not time for a particular consideration of this subject at present. It deserves, however, to be remarked,

that *zeal for religious liberty* may proceed from two causes—*infidelity*, which utterly casts off the moral influence of religion, and aims to get rid of it altogether, and *genuine piety*, which makes a man feel the value of freedom to worship his Maker according to his conviction of duty. The first of these causes, drives men, as with the force of a tornado, to the opposite extreme. It is the second only, which secures rational liberty. And if there is an increase of piety in the present age, there is also an increase of infidelity, as well as of Popery.

Still, however, there is an immense advantage possessed by this “age of the press,” and of “extending intercourse,” over all past ages. And in the struggle which is now going on in the world, it is in the highest degree important that there should be correspondence, cordial co-operation, and a thorough understanding between the sincere friends of genuine religious liberty, in all parts of the world. In any particular case of oppression, such, for instance, as that endured by the French Protestants, the strong decided expression of displeasure by millions in the United States, and millions in England, will be heard and regarded. And in the present growing power of public opinion, certainly it is important that all throughout the world, who own no authority over conscience but that of the Deity, should be prepared to speak out, and to speak all together, whenever a sufficiently important occasion demands it. This, then, is one of the reasons why, in our opinion, the correspondence so happily begun, ought to be carried on with spirit and cordiality. It will unite the friends of religious liberty in this country and in Europe.

But again; immeasurable injury has been done to Christianity, by building systems of religion on other foundations, than that of the sound interpretation of the Bible. When philosophy is employed to prove theology, the Scriptures are stripped of their honours, and the study of them is

greatly neglected. When Christians of different nations, however, write to each other on their common religion, they must refer to the Bible, as the only authentic source of information; and see to it, that their opinions are founded, not on the ever changing systems of men, but on the oracles of eternal truth. This is the more important, because the philosophy of different nations, even in the same age, is widely different. English and American, differs from French philosophy; and both, from the German. An equal difference is discernible in the theological systems of these different nations. Indeed it is quite curious to trace the changes which have taken place in theology, under the influence of philosophical systems, in different ages and countries. But we cannot now pursue this subject. Of all the expedients devised by human wisdom to prevent these mutations, the most efficacious have been well constructed *Confessions of Faith*. But, inasmuch as these do not claim authority to bind the conscience, they have always, at length, given way before the force of public opinion. The Lutherans have their confession of Augsburg; the English Church their Thirty-Nine Articles; the Scotch and the French Calvinists have a confession still more extended, and minute:—but the Lutherans are Neologists; the English are Arminians; the Scotch have their *moderate men*, which is but another name for Arminians; and the French, as a Church, have now, if we are rightly informed, no creed at all. Philosophy, as it is called, has produced these changes. And it is not in human wisdom effectually to guard against them. We see corresponding changes taking place, even in the best constituted Churches in this country. Our own denomination affords a very striking instance of this kind. We advert not to others, for that might be invidious. We are persuaded too, that these changes, whatever may be thought of their value, have not been produced by a study of the Bible. Look only at the polemical essays with which the press now teems;

and observe how little Scripture, and how much *reasoning* is to be found in them. Be the subject what it may, the case is all the same. The great questions, for instance, concerning *Predestination. Election, Original Sin, the Atonement*, and even in some instances, *the Divinity of Christ*, are attempted to be settled, not by the plain decisions of the holy Scriptures, soundly interpreted, but by *philosophy*!

Now all these changes would never have taken place, had the teachers of religion adhered to the Bible, and to the common-sense method of interpreting the sacred volume. Two reasons convince us of the truth of this remark:

1st. The Bible contains the whole of the Christian religion. Its gracious author gave this book to man, for the very purpose of letting him know what he must believe and do, in order to salvation. The same things are *now* to be believed and practised, which the apostles received from the Lord Jesus. There is no change here. There can be none. But from the very nature of the case, the meaning of the Bible is ascertainable. Otherwise it would be no revelation at all. Let this meaning then, be discovered, and we know the whole of the Christian religion. But it is not learned from the philosophy of Locke, Reed and Brown; of Malebranche and Butler; of Leibnitz, Kant and Fichte; but from the careful study of Hebrew and Greek; in other words, from the cultivation of sound philology.

2d. The Maker of man, is the author of the Bible. The religion of the Bible, then, is adapted to human nature in all ages, and in all climes. It applies itself to all the faculties of man as a religious being; brings them to the highest state of improvement; and gives them the best possible direction. There is no danger of error, or excess, if only the whole of Bible truth is brought to bear on man's heart and conscience. But so "fearfully and wonderfully are we made," that much of human nature lies beyond the ken of philosophy; and it is not at all to be wondered at, if, when men undertake to

mould theological truth by the partial and imperfect discoveries of human science, they fall into error. Nor is it at all more surprising that one system of theology thus framed, should give place to another, in almost perpetual change, when every new philosophical theory, displaces that which went before. It would be tedious to give even a catalogue of the *new* and *improved* systems of divinity, which have been produced since the era of the Reformation. But who can tell what injury has been done to the cause of Christ, by all these changes? And who shall answer the sneering question of the unbeliever? "After all, what do Christians believe?"

We do not pretend, indeed, that the annual letters, which will pass between our General Assembly and different Christian denominations in Europe, will directly produce the effects anticipated. It would be extravagant to make the supposition. But, as we hope, the case will be thus. One very important benefit to be expected from the noble institutions growing up among us, is, *a body of native theological literature*. Now our authors will write, either for their own countrymen *only*; or, for others in different parts of the world *also*. Should the former be the case, our systems and commentaries will, in all probability, be moulded by American notions, and American philosophy; and bear throughout the stamp of local feeling. But in the latter case, all these trammels will be cast off, and American theology will sustain that character of universal adaptation, which constitutes one of the most distinguishing features of the religion of the Bible. In this, it would happily differ from every thing almost, which has yet come under our observation. In the title pages of many modern systems of divinity, we see the very significant phrase *his temporibus accommodata*. And no one is at a loss to know its meaning. It is theology adapted to the philosophy of the times; it is Scripture truth *detorted* to suit the views of Neologists.

An intelligent and accute general reader need not look at the title, and the author's name, but only at a chapter or two in any part of a new work, to ascertain at once, where it originated. He can say, this came from Germany; this from England; and this from New England, &c., without the least hesitation.

We would now inquire, is it chimerical to suppose that a cordial affectionate intercourse between Christians in other countries, would produce such effects as we have mentioned above? We think not. Many circumstances are attracting the attention of the Christian world to America; our rapid increase—our perfect religious liberty—our revivals of religion—the activity and energy of our religious charities, &c. Even our theological literature, meagre as it yet is; and the sermons of our distinguished preachers, already excite considerable notice. Our great men, if indeed we have them, will become more known. It may easily be brought about, that when an American divine sits down to write a book, he will do his work in the expectation that it will be reprinted in England; will be translated into French, and Dutch, and German, and circulated wherever there are Christians who speak these languages. A commentator, or systematic writer, with expectations such as these, and with the feelings which they would awaken, could scarcely construct a work, limited in its adaptation to the meridian of Boston or New-Haven, New-York or Philadelphia. He would be obliged to bring it up as near as possible to that “word,” which is “a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the hearts;” which, in all that it teaches of religious doctrine, of guilt and repentance, of faith and pardon, and hope; of fears and sorrows, and joys, shows a most consummate knowledge of every thing that is in man. In a word, he would be obliged to teach that religion, which takes hold of the whole of human nature, which goes into the inner parts of every man's soul, and makes him feel that He who made man, is the author of this religion also.

If after all, however, we are over sanguine in our expectations of the good which *may be educed* from this correspondence, we are very confident that our readers will agree with us in our views of the value of this result; and in our most earnest wishes, that if not in this way, in some other, it may be produced.

And, we would take this opportunity of remarking, that already, religious intelligence from America is sought for with great avidity, in many distant parts of the world. And we cannot but wish that the brethren, who write for our periodicals, who give accounts of revivals, who draw up narratives of the state of religion, prepare reports, make speeches at our anniversaries, and communications from executive committees, would take the trouble to consider how such papers as they prepare, will appear to the various bodies of Christians, with whom we have proposed to hold correspondence.

But there is another view of this subject which we wish to present.

America, for some years past, has been the *land of revivals*. We know that this subject has excited a deep interest in the minds of many Christians abroad, and many inquiries have been made respecting these remarkable events. Now, considering the nature of the intercourse between this country and Europe, we know of scarcely any subject, respecting which it is more difficult to procure accurate information. All sorts of people have correspondence with Europe—men who call any excitement a revival—sober and wise men—friends and foes, write on this theme. And inquirers at a distance, we doubt not, find it extremely difficult to form a clear opinion of the real character of American revivals. In one case a statement is made of facts, which would lead a sober thinker to suppose, that in these occurrences, there is nothing but a wild and frantic fanaticism. And we should not be surprised to see, at any time, a long induction of particulars, made by some Euro-

pean philosopher, going to show that the Americans, with their boasted religious liberty, are rapidly degenerating into a nation of fanatics. It would not be difficult to find in that mass of crudities, which in past times has gone under the general name of Religious Intelligence, hundreds of statements, which would seem to justify such a conclusion. Men of real abilities, prudence, and skill, have so seldom thought the periodical press, a subject worthy of their attention ;—this mighty engine of good and evil, has so often been left to the management of unexperienced, and often half educated men ; that a large part of its records might easily be made to subserve any purpose, which the enemies of evangelical piety might wish to effect.

Yet we do believe that revivals of religion are the joy and glory of the Church, and the hope of the world. The polemic fires which were kindled at the Reformation, continued to rage until vital religion in the Church had been nearly burnt out. There seemed to be nothing to prevent the universal prevalence of a heartless formality, but such visitations of mercy as we now speak of. The circumstances of the American Churches were, in many respects, favourable to the occurrence of these events. Christians in the United States were placed in a situation to look only to the grace of their Lord, and the power of their religion. In this case, there is naturally a more direct and vigorous application of religion to the conscience, than we ordinarily find in different circumstances. And there is no control of the ministers of the Gospel, by “the powers that be.” Every one is at full liberty to try the utmost force of his religion, in the way which appears to him best.—*America is, and it long will be, the land of revivals.*

But in this country, “who will may preach, and what he will.” And it is not to be denied, that among numbers of our fellow-citizens, noisy declamation is preferred to sound exposition of the Bible. Powerful excitements are pro-

duced by addresses to the imagination and the senses ; and we have a pretty full experience of the disastrous and desolating effects of *false revivals*. Men of experience, of sound discrimination, and careful observation among us, can afford on this subject, information of the highest value to the world ; and utter warning voices, which, if duly regarded, will save the Church from much reproach and sorrow, and prevent the occurrence of many a scene of desolation.

It is a matter for everlasting praise, too, that we have in this country a number of men, of adequate information, of fervent piety, and habits of careful observation, whose labours have been greatly blessed. *Genuine revivals* of religion have taken place under their ministry. They have brought forth fruit, and their *fruit hath remained*. They who were afar off have been brought nigh ;—Christians have made advances in holiness ;—and the whole effect of one revival has been a preparation for another, of equal, or perhaps greater power. These instances afford opportunities for statements of particulars of the most instructive character. The wonder is, that they have not already been made. A thorough conviction of the paramount value of *revealed truth*, united with deep piety, a large portion of common sense, and some considerable knowledge of human nature, have prompted these most excellent ministers of Christ, to pursue the course of true wisdom, but they have not yet, as far as we know, preserved registers of facts ; have not made and recorded numerous, minute, and careful observations, so as to afford ample instruction to others, of less wisdom and experience than their own.

Now the organization of the Presbyterian Church affords very peculiar advantages, for collecting information respecting the progress of religion ; the particular measures employed to promote it ; and the results as they are varied by different plans, or by the same plans, conducted in different

circumstances. We can scarcely conceive of a situation in which more practical wisdom might be acquired than in our General Assemblies, if only the members would come together, with hearts all alive, and attention all awake to this great object. They who compose this venerable body, are for the most part members of all the inferior judicatories of the Church. As pastors and elders, they belong to Church Sessions, where all the measures adopted to promote the conversion of sinners, and the holiness of Christians, in their particular congregations, are of course, subject to their personal inspection. Then there are Presbyteries and Synods, where the state of religion, and the means used to build up the kingdom of the Redeemer, are matters of particular inquiry, and of formal report. And finally, there is the General Assembly, in which are gathered representatives of the Churches, from the Presbytery of Londonderry to that of Missouri. These great councils, too, are held every year. The order of the Assembly requires an annual report of the state of religion. It is possible, then, to bring together the knowledge and experience of more than a thousand men, and afford the whole to each member of the Assembly. We have wished with inexpressible earnestness, that the protracted, and often warm discussions of matters of mere personal and local interest, which so often occur, might give place to the careful consideration of other, and we hope to be forgiven for saying, more important business. And it occurs to us, that a close union and free correspondence with foreign Churches may help to produce this change. For let our former remarks be recollected ; that Christians abroad are beginning to waken up, and look at the events which are taking place in our country. The report of what the Lord has done for us, has travelled into distant lands. And our brethren from afar, are inquiring with much solicitude on this subject. The Minutes of the General Assembly are sent abroad ; and they will be read with

great eagerness. When it is seen that twenty or thirty thousand are added to the Churches in a year; and there is great glorying in the wonderful achievements of redeeming mercy, these authentic records of our Church will be studied with much care, that it may be known what are the measures thus signally blessed by the great Lord of all.

In a word, our General Assembly might be made to feel that they are acting on a wide theatre; and not for themselves and for petty interests at home:—that they are “encompassed with a great cloud of witnesses;” and that they ought to lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset them, that in a word, they ought to constitute the centre of an influence which shall be felt through the whole world. And why may not such things be? Why may not the third Thursday in May constitute an epoch in the history of our Church? And the future historian in tracing the progress of religion, ought to be able to see in the measures adopted by each General Assembly, a new impulse given to the great enterprise of making this land the land of Immanuel; and this world his kingdom.

It is most admirably taught in the constitution of our Church, that “truth is in order to goodness;” and that “the great touchstone of truth, is its tendency to promote holiness.” According to this doctrine, if our Church is, as we maintain, the purest, so it ought to be the holiest in the world. And if our system of ecclesiastical polity is nearest to the great principles laid down in the New Testament, then in its administration, it ought to produce the best results.

The strongest argument that possibly can be produced in these times of contention and division, would be the superior zeal, liberality, kindness, self-denial, humility—or to say all in one word, the superior holiness of Presbyterians. Let the country and the world, feel that we are a blessing to them, and they will *receive us*: let them feel that we are

a *greater* blessing than any other people, and they will admit our greater purity both in doctrine and discipline. Any measures which have a tendency to produce a result like this, shall always have our warm approbation, and decided support. Indeed, one prime object of our labours, in conducting this journal, is to raise the standard of piety in our Churches, and especially among our ministers. And whatever else we may be able to accomplish, we shall feel all the mortification produced by failure, if we are favoured with no success, in this our leading purpose. None, we trust, can question our zeal for sound Presbyterian orthodoxy. But we value our doctrine and discipline for this very reason, because we believe, that, when fully received and carried out into practice, they are entirely adapted to make men more active, benevolent, liberal, and pious, than any other system of which we have any knowledge. When convinced of the contrary, we shall be ready to change our plans. We are especially desirous that the General Assembly may be the instrument of doing *all* that good, which, by its constitution, it is adapted to do; that it may diffuse blessings, in every direction, to the greatest possible extent; and divine benefits from every source opened by the great Head of the Church.

REVIEW

OF FABER'S DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM.

The difficulties of Romanism. By George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton. London printed. Philadelphia reprinted—Tower & Hogan, 1829. 12mo. pp. 293.

At first view, scarcely any thing could appear more wonderful, than that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and especially in this country, where more than nineteen twentieths of the whole population are Protestants, it should be deemed necessary to put any portion of these Protestants on their guard against the allurements of Popery. The system of superstition and of spiritual tyranny built up by the Church of Rome, is so manifestly unscriptural; so unreasonable; so essentially subversive of all the rights of conscience, and of private judgment; and so utterly at war with all the interests of good morals, that it might be supposed no intelligent man or woman in the country could be in the smallest danger of becoming a convert to such a system. But, after all, the stubborn matter of fact is, that such danger really exists. There are those to whom, in the midst of Bibles, and of Protestant feelings, the system of the Papacy presents a real and formidable temptation. The appearance of this book on the other side of the Atlantic, taken in connexion with its history, is proof enough that this is the fact in Great Britain. And its republication in this country, is sufficient evidence, that, in the opinion of good judges, such a work is needed among ourselves. We think, moreover, that the existence of this necessity will cease to surprise those who look somewhat attentively at the subject.

Many, indeed, seem to consider that system of religious belief and practice, which Mr. FABER very properly designates by the term, *Romanism*, as a sort of spiritual and ecclesiastical monster, which has arisen in some unaccountable manner, and which is reducible to no rules but those of the all-grasping ambition of profligate ecclesiastics. But this is certainly a superficial view of the subject. The system of Popery is no *lusus naturæ*. It is no chance medley work. It is the religion of human nature. As Mr. *Toplady* has said that every man is born an *Arminian*; so it has also been said, and with equal truth, that "every man is born a Papist." That is, every man is born with such principles and tendencies as, left to themselves, will naturally conduct him to the substance of this system, as the foundation of his hope, and the guide of his life. The Bible represents the condition and character of man, by nature, as truly deplorable and alarming. He is corrupt in his original: a rebel against God: born in a state of total alienation from Him: under his righteous displeasure, as well as altogether indisposed to his service and communion. And unless he receive both pardoning mercy, and sanctifying grace, he must perish. For his deliverance from this guilt and pollution, the same Bible which unfolds his disease and his danger, proclaims an effectual remedy; a remedy as wonderful as it is glorious. A remedy, however, which, throughout, takes away all glorying from the sinner, and lays him in the dust of abasement. The plan of deliverance is this—A Divine Redeemer has consented to become the substitute of the guilty; to obey and suffer in their room; and to bring in everlasting righteousness for their justification. He has, in a word, "finished transgression, made an end of sin, and made reconciliation for iniquity;" so that all who believe in his name, are freely justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the deeds of the law. It is never to be forgotten, however, that this plan of *pardon* is essentially and necessa-

rily connected with a plan of *sanctification*. The work of the Holy Spirit on the heart of the rebel, reconciling him to God, his character, his law, his government, and his humbling plan of mercy, is one of the chief blessings purchased by the Redeemer; who died, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God; that he might "purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Hence, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ is invariably accompanied by a radical change in the *character* as well as the *state* of the happy individual. "Whom He justifies, them he also sanctifies." The sinner is not only brought into a *new relation*, the result of which is pardon and peace with God; but he is also a *new creature*. He is *born again*;—*born of the Spirit*—he commences a new and spiritual life. From this hour, he is no more a rebel, but a son; for to "as many as believe, to them is given power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe in his name, who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." From this hour, so far as the spirit of this new life reigns within him, his course is marked by hatred of sin; by a crucifixion of the flesh with the affections and lusts; together with a sincere love of holy obedience, and a cordial desire to please and glorify God. In short, it is his habitual aim and prayer to "die unto sin, and live unto righteousness;" the love of Christ constrains him to live, not unto himself, but unto Him who died for him, and rose again. And, although he continues to sin as long as he is in the body, yet he daily mourns that it has so much influence over him. He strives and prays against it. And his *only* hope for *new pardon*, as he commits *new offences*, is in that atoning sacrifice of his Divine Surety, to whose blood he penitently applied in the first act of believing, and on whose merit he relied, and still relies, for his whole and final justification. Such, as we read the Bible, is the representation which it gives of

real Christianity. It is a SYSTEM OF GRACE THROUGHOUT ; —grace in the original purpose ; grace in the execution ; grace in the whole plan of acceptance ; grace in the application to each individual of the purchased salvation ; grace in sustaining and bearing him forward in the spiritual warfare ; grace in his final preparation for, and admission to the joy and glory of his Lord ;—free grace ;—rich grace ;—sovereign, distinguishing grace.

It is perfectly obvious that this plan of mercy, not only cuts off all pretence of glorying on the part of the sinner ; but that there is no principle more directly and irreconcilably hostile to the whole economy of salvation by Christ, than the doctrine of HUMAN MERIT. To rely upon our own righteousness or strength in the matter of salvation, is to attack Christianity, if the expression may be allowed, in its most vital organ. It is to make God, in all the proclamations of his grace, “a liar ;” it is to trample on the blood of Him who was “made sin for us,” as an unnecessary, and therefore as a wantonly shed—and, of course, “as an unholy thing.” If there be any doctrine which contradicts the whole spirit, and every offer of the plan of mercy through a Redeemer, it is, undoubtedly, the doctrine that any thing man has done, or can do, moral or ceremonial, merits the Divine favour, or forms any part of the price of heaven. This, we have no doubt, is the substance of Christianity ; which no man ever cordially received but by the Spirit of God ; and yet, without receiving which, in its leading features, no man will ever be recognised by a holy God, as a Christian.

Nothing, however, is more certain, than that the plan of acceptance with God which has just been sketched, is, of all others, that which is most distasteful to the natural feelings of man. Pride, which is “the condemnation and snare of the devil,” is equally the “condemnation and snare” of man. Guilty and polluted as the sinner is, he has an innate pro-

pensity to trust in himself, or in something done, or intended to be done, by himself, to avert the displeasure, and merit the favour of heaven. The hope of being in some way, his own Saviour, is the last which he abandons, when brought to embrace the Gospel in sincerity and truth. The tendency of our nature is to cleave to ANY THING BUT CHRIST. The impenitent sinner is willing to undergo the heaviest drudgery of rites and ceremonies; to submit to the severest penances; to make long journies; to pay large sums of money; in short, to lacerate his body, and tax his purse, as far as he can bear, if by these he can enjoy the prospect of gaining the heavenly paradise. Any, or all these, he is willing to give for such a prospect; but his *heart* he will not give. To “receive the kingdom of God as a little child;” to submit with penitence and humility to the righteousness of God by faith, he cannot yield.

Now, to relieve this impenitent and unyielding mind—which is the mind of all men by nature—the system of *Romanism* comes in with the most plausible and fascinating allurements. It meets him with a system of most ingenious expedients for removing every difficulty, and satisfying every doubt, without the sacrifice of a single lust. It persuades him that if he be in regular connexion with the Roman Church, he is, of course, in real covenant and communion with Christ:—that there is no need of any radical change of heart, provided he will submit to the dictation and discipline of the constituted authorities of that Church:—that by the sacrament of Baptism, a priest can regenerate him, and that no other change than that which baptism includes, need be sought or expected:—that by this baptism, when regularly administered, all his sins are taken away, and he reconciled to God:—that by a regular attendance on the sacrament of Penance, all his sins committed, from time to time, after baptism, may be certainly forgiven:—and that, by a regular confession and absolution during life, and the reception of ex-

extreme unction, when he comes to die, he may be assured of everlasting happiness :—or that, at the worst, he will only be detained sometime in purgatory ; which, however, will be made as short and light as possible, if he bequeath a handsome sum to the Church, or if his surviving friends shall pay liberally for the prayers that may be said, and the masses that may be performed for his soul.

According to this delusive system, then, a man may live and die without any real holiness, either of heart or of life, and yet, in spite of all the Scripture has so solemnly pronounced to the contrary, may be certain of seeing the Lord in peace. He need not trouble himself to read the Scriptures. The *Church* reads, judges, and engages for him. The Church has a stock of *merit* to dispose of, which, upon being properly *paid* for, she can set down to his account, and make available to his acceptance. So that, however multiplied and enormous his sins, and however obstinately and impenitently persisted in, to the last hour of his life : still if he submit to all the rites of the Church, and all the penances imposed by the proper authority, he is certainly safe ; certainly secure of salvation. In support of all these statements, testimony of the most unequivocal kind might be adduced from Romish authorities of the highest character. We are aware, indeed, that most of the allegations above stated, have been either denied, or attempted to be explained away by ingenious apologists for Romish claims : but we are very sure that, when the whole system, taken together, is compared with its highest official vouchers, our representation will be completely borne out in every particular.

Now, we ask, is it any wonder that multitudes—and even many of those who might be expected to know better, and to judge more intelligently—are captivated with this system, and fly to it as a refuge from the doubts and anxiety of a worldly course ? Is it any wonder that thousands, who have no heart for the self-denial, the self-renunciation, and the

spirituality of the genuine Gospel, find in this delusive scheme a delightful repose, which leaves them at full liberty to pursue the world and all its pleasures as they please, and yet to bear the name, and cherish the hopes of Christians ! For our part, we wonder not that millions, in the days of *Luther*, resisted with so much bitterness his endeavours to destroy the empire of blind superstition. And we wonder not, that some instances are found in Protestant *America* of persons who are disposed to retreat from the pure but painful light of Gospel truth, which allows no conformity to the world, and admits no compromise with sin ; and to take refuge in a system of delusion, which bears an honourable name ; puts on a plausible appearance ; lulls conscience asleep by a thousand ingenious expedients ; flatters pride ; and gives a license to men to live as they list, provided they bow respectfully before pictures and images—honour the claims of a tyrannical priesthood—and submit to the requisite number of pecuniary payments. This flattering, but delusive system has precisely *that* to offer which the carnal mind will ever prefer to the holy salvation which the Gospel reveals ; because it is consistent with the love and practice of sin ;—does not require the universal mortification of our carnal nature ;—nor the subjection of the heart to the righteousness of God, by faith in a crucified Redeemer. In truth, we rather wonder that such a system has not a greater number of votaries ; that it does not bear away hundreds, where it beguiles and destroys one.

If there be any solid ground for these remarks, then we need, even in *America*, where there is no sovereign Pontiff to fulminate his anathemas, and impose his tremendous interdicts ; where the Inquisition is unknown ; where we are all left free to worship *whom* we choose, and *how* we choose ; and where there are few other inducements to become Papists than those which the Papacy itself presents ;—even *here* we need manuals to expose the real character of this

stupendous system of delusion and imposition, and to put the ignorant and the unwary on their guard against its peculiar fascinations. We, therefore, feel indebted to Messrs. *Towar & Hogan* for giving this American edition of Mr. *Faber's* work, and wish that it may be circulated and read in every part of the United States. Unfortunately, however, it will be seldom read by those who most need it. The benevolent and the pious, however, we hope will seek such out, and endeavour to bring them in contact with this excellent volume, especially in those settlements in which there is known to be most exposure to the specific contagion, against which it is intended to furnish an antidote.

The work before us, though general in its character, and adapted to any country in which its language is understood, and the errors which it opposes have a place, was prepared by Mr. *Faber* to answer a particular purpose. The Bishop of *Aire*, in *France*, a prelate, it seems, of high reputation for talents, learning, and exemplary deportment, had a short time before, published a popular book under the title of "*An Amicable Discussion respecting the Anglican Church in particular, and the Reformation in general.*" "In an Epistle prefixed to this work, it is dedicated to the Clergy of all Protestant communions: but it is especially addressed in the form of letters, to an English traveller, who is described by the Bishop as having stated to him certain doubts that had sprung up in his mind, with respect to the canonical legitimacy of his own Church; and as having requested him to facilitate his honest research after theological truth. The desire of the traveller, whether real or fictitious, is granted; and the production of the Bishop's work is the consequence. Of this work, the main object is, evidently, the proselytism of the English laity."

Mr. *Faber*, already well known to the British and American public, as the author of a number of valuable works, considered the French Bishop's publication as a kind of

challenge, and judged, we think, very properly, that an acceptance of the challenge, and a refutation of his book might be a very useful service to the cause of evangelical truth. He, accordingly, thought proper to undertake it himself, and has executed the task in a manner which we consider as honourable to his own character, and well adapted to do extensive good. We do not intend to enter into a minute analysis of the work. The limits to which we are confined, as well as the purpose of this extended notice, forbids such an attempt. Nor is it necessary. The following is a catalogue of the titles of the several *Books*, and of the *Chapters* under each Book.

BOOK I. The difficulties attendant on the Church of Rome in regard to her peculiar Doctrines and Practices.

Chapter I. Introductory Statement. Chapter II. The Difficulties of Romanism in regard to the claim of INFALLIBILITY. Chapter III. The Difficulties of Romanism in regard to TRADITION, and the doctrinal INSTRUCTION of the Church. Chapter IV. The Difficulties of Romanism in regard to the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. Chapter V. Respecting the Latin Defence of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, from the language employed by our Lord. Chapter VI. Respecting the Latin Defence of the doctrine of Transubstantiation from the secret discipline of the early Church. Chapter VII. Respecting the Latin Defence of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, from the language of the ancient *Liturgies*, and from the phraseology of the early ecclesiastical *writers*. Chapter VIII. Respecting the rise, progress, and final establishment of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Chapter IX. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to AURICULAR CONFESSION, as imposed and enforced by the Church of Rome. Chapter X. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to the doctrine of SATISFACTION. Chapter XI. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to INDULGENCES. Chapter XII. The Diffi-

culties of Romanism in respect to PURGATORY. Chapter XIII. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD. Chapter XIV. An Historical Sketch of the RISE of Prayers for the Dead, and of the doctrine of Purgatory. Chapter XV. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to the INVOCATION OF THE SAINTS. Chapter XVI. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to the WORSHIP OF RELICS. Chapter XVII. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to the VENERATION OF IMAGES. Chapter XVIII. The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to the ADORATION OF THE CROSS.

BOOK II. The Difficulties attendant upon the Church of Rome in regard to her claim of UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY.

Chapter I. Respecting the POLITY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. Chapter II. Respecting the Latin objections to the Church of ENGLAND in general, and to the ORDERS of the Church of England in particular. Chapter III. Respecting the ALLEGED SCHISM of the Reformed Church of England. Chapter IV. Respecting the practicability of an UNION of the Church of Rome, and the Church of England. Chapter V. Respecting the Bishop of Aire's censure of the REFORMATION; his apology for the INQUISITION; and his protest against FREEDOM of religious worship. Chapter VI. CONCLUSION.

APPENDIX. Respecting the authentic Letters of the Apostles mentioned by *Tertullian*.

With respect to Mr. Faber's mode of stating the doctrines and practice of Romanism, he gives the Bishop of Aire, whose book he answers, every possible advantage. He adopts the Bishop's own statement of them; and having done this, turns on the challenger, and demonstrates the insuperable difficulties attendant on these doctrines and practices, even on his own showing. Some readers, however, will be of the opinion that Mr. Faber exercises rather more politeness towards his antagonist than fidelity to his

Master rendered proper. Indeed we cannot help thinking that, as his aim was to form a work, not merely adapted to answer a temporary purpose, or to refute a particular individual, but, as he expresses it, to be of "permanent utility," it would have been better, to proceed in his refutation, not merely on the ground of what the Bishop conceded, but of what the *highest authorities* in the Romish Church, at different times, and in different countries, had agreed in maintaining. Proceeding on this ground, it seems to us that he might have made the "Difficulties of Romanism" much more numerous, formidable, and shocking than they appear in his book. As it is, indeed, he has given an able and sufficient refutation of the monstrous system which it is his object to assail; but some of the worst features in this system, he has not exposed or mentioned at all; and some against which he has directed his potent artillery, he might it appears to us, have demolished with still more complete and tremendous effect.

Mr. Faber's exposure of the "Difficulties" attending the Popish doctrines of *Infallibility*, *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, and the *Invocation of Saints* may be considered as among the best in his book. On these, particularly the second, he is clear, powerful, and sufficiently ample. But in reference to his mode of treating several other points—particularly *Auricular Confession*—the *Doctrine of Satisfaction*—the *Doctrine of Indulgences*, &c., we confess it does appear to us more superficial and incomplete than from a gentleman of Mr. F's learning, and standing as an author, we might have been led to expect. As to the "Doctrine of Satisfaction," in particular, we cannot resist the persuasion, that if Mr. *Faber* had possessed more deeply Scriptural and clear views of the doctrine of Christ's substitution, of his vicarious atoning sacrifice, and of that great doctrine which *Luther* strongly represented as *articulus stantis, aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*,—the doc-

trine of *justification by the righteousness of Christ alone*; he would have written far more powerfully and effectively on the point of controversy to which we have alluded. On the important subjects of *withholding the Scriptures from the laity*; *adding to the number of the Sacraments*;—the *Celibacy of the Clergy*;—taking away the *cup in the Eucharist*;—*works of supererogation*;—*extreme unction*, &c. &c., Mr. Faber has either said nothing at all, or nothing sufficiently formal and conclusive. Whether these topics were, or were not mentioned by the writer to whom he replies, is no way material. They belong, indispensably to a complete popular treatise on the claims, errors, and “Difficulties” of “Romanism.”

The first chapter of the second book is on a subject which, we think, ought not to have been considered as properly belonging to the author's subject, and which good policy, in confining himself to one class of antagonists, might have led him to omit. We refer to the chapter “Respecting the Polity of the Primitive Church.” The object of this is “to demonstrate that the form of ecclesiastical polity which has been adopted by the Church of England, was of divine appointment.” The whole chapter is short, superficial, and inconclusive. It is so far from amounting to “demonstration,” that we feel persuaded an enlightened and impartial reader will scarcely deem it worthy of the name of a *probable* argument. Mr. Faber, in hastening to his confident conclusion, seems utterly to forget, that the question is not, whether the term *Bishop* is mentioned in the New Testament, and by the early Christian writers; but what this title *implies*? No one doubts that there were persons styled *Bishops* in the Apostolic Church, and also in the days of *Polycarp*, and *Irenæus*. But the point to be decided is,—were they simple *Pastors* of parishes, or a superior *order* of clergy, having a number of Churches and Pastors under their government? In other words, were they *prelatical*?

Bishops, or *Presbyterian* Bishops? We have no doubt they were the *latter*; and are quite sure that Mr. Faber has advanced nothing, on the score, either of argument or authority, which renders that conclusion at all improbable; much less, as he seems to think, "demonstrably" false. The friends of Prelacy, with one voice, acknowledge that the title of Bishop was not restricted to a superiour class in the Apostolic age. They contend, however, that it became so restricted afterwards; but *how early* this restriction began, they are not agreed among themselves. For our part, we are very willing they should settle this point at their leisure. But we must say, if the restriction be not found in the Bible, we care very little where *else* it may be found. Whether after the death of the last apostle, the restriction and the claim connected with it, were *twenty* or *two hundred* years in gaining currency, is of little account. For even if the shorter of the two periods were adopted, and established, it would only prove that the Church was *very early corrupted*; which we know to have been the fact. Nay, while the apostles were still alive, we are informed that the "mystery of iniquity," had "already begun to work"—that mystery of iniquity, a main feature in which was the "love of pre-eminence," which is so universally natural to man.

But Mr. Faber has not shown, and cannot show, that any such restriction of the title, Bishop, to a superiour order of clergy, had obtained in the time of *Clemens Romanus*, *Polycarp*, or *Irenæus*, whose testimony he adduces with so much apparent confidence. The mere use of the *term*, *Bishop*, at that time, since it is acknowledged on all hands to import nothing to the purpose of Prelatists in the apostolic age, it is evident cannot be made to mean *more* to their purpose, in the time of the writers in question. Nor does all that they say about the "*succession of Bishops*" contribute one jot or tittle toward the establishment of the

claim in question. For it is evident that there may be a "succession"—and an "uninterrupted" one too, of *Presbyterian Pastors* or *Bishops*, just as well, as a succession of *Prelatical Bishops*. The one class die just as certainly and universally as the other; the one *succeed* each other just as constantly in the one case, as in the other;—and if proper ecclesiastical records be kept, the exact *line of succession* may be traced in the one case, just as easily, and unerringly as in the other. And hence it is remarkable that *Irenæus*, as if to establish the very point for which we are contending—does not always make use of the term *Bishop* when he speaks of the "succession;"—but talks, interchangeably of "the succession of the Presbyters," and of the "Presbyterial succession." Is it not, then, something like an abuse of the understandings of men to talk, either of the mere "*title*," or of loose statements about "*succession*," as "demonstrating" that Prelacy existed from the time of the apostles, and was evidently derived from them?

Quite as little can be made of those passages from *Ignatius*, which speak again and again of three ecclesiastical orders, "*Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons*," as existing in his day. The truth is, this language is exactly Presbyterian. We have three orders of ecclesiastical officers in the Presbyterian Church, bearing exactly the same names. If a Presbyterian had been talking of the Church, according to his form, in the days of *Ignatius*, and had used the Greek language, as that Father did, he would naturally, I had almost said necessarily, have used the very same terms. He would have spoken of *Επισκοποι, πρεσβυτεροι και Διακονοι*; for every one knows that *Presbyter* and *Elder*, are words of exactly the same import, and that *πρεσβυτερος* being commonly translated by us, *Elder*, and by Prelatists *Presbyter*, is merely an affair of habit, and does not, philologically considered, convey the least difference of meaning.

In truth, the strain of Mr. Faber in this chapter has re-

peatedly reminded us of a zealous Antipædobaptist preacher of whom we once heard. The good man having occasion to speak of the forerunner of Christ, delivered himself in substance thus—"His name was *John*. But, besides this, he had another name; and what do you think it was? A name very expressive, and very much to *our* purpose. Was he called, think you, John the *Presbyterian*? No, there were no Presbyterians at that time. John the *Episcopalian*? No, no, that denomination was then equally unknown. John the *Methodist*? Not at all. No, it was John the *Baptist*. This great preacher was a *Baptist*! as all ought to be *now*, who would follow the primitive example." The stroke was considered as an admirable one, and perfectly conclusive, by many of his ignorant and gaping hearers.

It is with deep reluctance we make these remarks. We have not the smallest desire to provoke any controversy on this subject. It is well known that we disclaim and abhor the thought of making any particular form of government essential to the existence of the Church. We are persuaded that such a claim is contrary to Scripture, totally unsupported by early ecclesiastical history, and an "offence against the generation of the righteous." We, therefore, exceedingly regret that such a chapter as that on which we are commenting, has found a place in this volume. We regret it, chiefly, because we should be glad to see the work, on account of the other portions of its contents, extensively circulated. And yet, we are very sure that no Presbyterian can take an active part in its circulation, without either treachery to his principles, or accompanying every copy with a *caveat* against this chapter of the work. And we know that, in one case, at least, a body of intelligent and conscientious Presbyterians, after some deliberation, resolved not to be instrumental in printing and circulating a new edition of the volume before us, chiefly on account of the very chapter which has given rise to these remarks. They deeply lament-

ed, that a work so well adapted, in other respects, to be useful, should contain matter, unnecessarily introduced, because not properly belonging to the Popish controversy, which, though not relating to a fundamental point, they sincerely thought was calculated to mislead, and, as far as it might be believed, to exert an injurious influence. We pass over a few minor points, in several other chapters, on which we are constrained to differ from the worthy author, but concerning which we do not think it necessary to trouble our readers with remarks.

Our principal reasons for the present notice of Mr. Faber's work, are *two*. The *first* is, because we really wish, as far as we conscientiously can, to promote the sale and circulation of a very respectable volume, which, notwithstanding its faults is adapted to do good. The *second* is, because we feel the deepest solicitude, that our clergy, more particularly our candidates for the sacred office, and as many of the members of our Church as possible, should consider themselves as called upon to read and think much on the Popish controversy. It is by far too little understood, even among intelligent Christians; and the "signs of the times," we think, demand special attention to it. Whatever we may be doing, the Pope himself seems to be directing particular attention to the United States. Very large sums of money are every year appropriated to the support and extension of his communion among us. Ecclesiastics of that communion are constantly pouring into our country in great numbers. They are sagaciously fixing important settlements, and Seminaries of popular character, in districts of country very poorly supplied with sounder teachers, and, therefore, more liable to be seduced by their errors. They are taking every practicable method to attract Protestant children to those Seminaries. And converts to no inconsiderable amount have already appeared as the seals of their ministry. If these be not serious and awakening facts, we

can scarcely say what ought to be so deemed. Can it be doubted, then, that those whose duty it is to be lights and guides in the world, and who are "set for the defence of the Gospel," ought to be vigilant in discerning, wise in understanding and appreciating, and faithful in exhibiting for the benefit of all around them, the serious dangers to which they are manifestly exposed?

Let none say, that "Romanism" has been greatly *meliorated* in modern times; and that many of the charges which were justly brought against that system in former ages, can no longer be with propriety imputed to it, as it now stands. We are aware, indeed, that some deluded people consider modern Popery as a very different, and a much more harmless thing, when compared with Popery as it appeared at the time of the Reformation, or as it has been seen in some parts of the world where it bore sovereign and universal sway. They judge of it as it appears in some amiable and respectable families and individuals of that denomination in the United States; and hastily conclude, that, whatever it might have been once, it is now a superstition indeed, but a very innocent one. But this is an utter delusion. Indeed, Papists themselves will not recognise as just, this over-kind and liberal concession in their favour. They will not admit that their religion has undergone the least change in any point whatever. It has always and every where been, they tell us, the same mild, parental, affectionate thing which it appears in New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or the Western Country: and all the representations to the contrary, which have been so frequently reiterated, they confidently pronounce the vilest forgeries and calumny. Let no man be the dupe of such misrepresentation. It is all a deception. "Romanism" is the very same now that it was. So far they are right. But it is *not* that mild and inoffensive thing which its advocates allege it to be. It has not undergone, in this respect, the smallest mitigation or improvement. In

this country indeed, where it has no civil establishment, and where those who belong to its communion form a very small minority, it is mild, plausible, and insinuating; and would make us believe that there is no portion of professing Christians so abundantly and laboriously benevolent. And, accordingly, some of their most revolting habits and practises of penance, of superstitious ceremony, and of licentious indulgence, are never exhibited among us. Papists in the midst of such a Protestant population as that which surrounds them on this side of the Atlantic, cannot possibly carry into execution their system in all the ostentatious grossness, in all the unbridled profligacy under which it appears in countries where it holds an undisputed reign. It is *here* restrained, trammelled, and obliged by circumstances to be reserved and decent. The light which shines around its votaries is too bright for many of their worst works of darkness. But go to those countries in which it still reigns in all its gloomy despotism; where it wields the sword; and where the human mind is as much enslaved by it as ever. Go to *Italy*, and especially to *Spain* and *Portugal*, and contemplate Romanism as it appears there at this hour; and then ask, whether it has not, in substance, the same essential characteristics;—the same corrupt and revolting aspect, which it manifested three hundred years ago?

The fact is, as long as the Romish Church continues to maintain the infallibility of the Pope, and his right to pronounce, without appeal, even to the Scriptures, what is the will of Christ;—as long as she maintains works of supererogation, and what is closely connected with them, the doctrine of merits and indulgences;—as long as she represents heaven as a part of the domain of St. Peter, so to speak, to be parcelled out, and made over to men for money, just as the avarice or caprice of the sovereign Pontiff, and his emissaries may dictate;—as long as she maintains Transubstantiation, that enormous outrage on every dictate of sense and reason, as well as of Scripture;—as long as she requires

her system of auricular confession, penance, the celibacy of the clergy, with all its appalling abuses, the worship of images, and prayers to the saints, and for the dead;—especially as long as she mutilates one of Christ's sacraments, and adds five more to the list which he never appointed;—as long as she locks up the Scriptures from the common people, and exercises a spiritual tyranny over the consciences, as well as the lives and property of men—"binding heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders, while she herself will not touch those burdens with one of her fingers;"—as long, in fine, as she professes in words to hold all the leading doctrines of the Gospel, but, at the same time, makes them all totally void by her traditions;—as long as she continues to maintain and require these things;—she may smile, and flatter, and disavow, and cajole, as she has always done;—but she cannot cease to be "Antichrist,"—"Babylon the great,"—"the mother of Harlots and abominations." The Church of Rome, in her innate essential character, is an intolerant persecuting Church. Her radical principles constrain her as far as possible, to prohibit the existence of any and every other Church. She may be rendered prudent by necessity, and even timid by danger;—but her nature must be entirely changed, before she can cease to deceive, cheat, oppress and destroy the children of men, under the pretext of making them happy here and hereafter.

It may be said, indeed, that those who are captivated by such a corrupt church, and consent to join it, cannot have any real religion; and that their becoming Papists, will not add to their danger, or make their situation, in any respect, worse than it is. This, however, is an entirely erroneous view of the subject. As long as a man entertains a tolerably correct theory on the subject of religion, and habitually comes within the reach of pure ministrations, there is surely more hope of him, than when he gives himself up to radical

error, and retreats out of the reach of all the ordinary means of light and warning. But, further, even supposing that graceless men, by becoming Papists, do not become in a worse situation with regard to their state towards God, or their prospects for eternity; may they not be made by the change, worse members of society; more unsound in all their practical principles, and more dangerous neighbours? * Every addition that is made to the members of that corrupt

* We are far from alleging or thinking, that *all* Roman Catholics are less moral than the mass of their Protestant neighbours. We are aware that they furnish many examples of unexceptionable, and even ornamental deportment. But we cannot for a moment doubt that the natural tendency of the Popish doctrines of *Absolution*, *Indulgences*, &c., as we know they have been, and still are understood and acted upon, by millions of that denomination, is highly immoral. We should not expect to find any man who entered fully into the popular sense and use of those doctrines, worthy of confidence in any of the relations of life. Accordingly, the ingenious and learned *M. Villers*, author of an "Essay on the Influence of the Reformation by *Luther*," to which a prize was awarded by the National Institute of France, a few years ago, expresses himself thus—"It is a certain fact that more crimes are committed in Catholic than in Protestant countries. I might instance many facts which I have collected on this subject. I will be satisfied with foreign authorities. Cit. Rebmann, President of the special tribunal of Mayence, in his *Coup-d'œil sur l'état des quatre départemens du Rhin*, says that the number of malefactors in the Catholic and Protestant cantons, is in the proportion of four, if not six to one. At Augsburg, the territory of which offers a mixture of the two religions, of nine hundred and forty-six malefactors, convicted in the course of ten years, there were only one hundred and eighty-four Protestants, that is to say, less than one in five. The celebrated philanthropist Howard, observed that the prisons of Italy were incessantly crowded. At Venice, he had seen three or four hundred prisoners in the principal prison. At Naples nine hundred and eighty in the succursal prison alone, called *vacaria*; while he affirms that the prisons of Berne are almost always empty; that in those of Lausanne he did not find any prisoner; and only three individuals in a state of arrest at Schaffhausen. Here are facts; I do not draw any conclusion." *Villers*, 8vo. 213.

communion, is a real accession of strength to the enemies of the best interests of civil society. Besides, when those who have families, make a transfer of their ecclesiastical connexion from some Protestant denomination, to the Roman Catholic communion, they throw their children, and all committed to their authority, into a corrupt body, and into a system of radical error, for perhaps, many generations.

If, regardless of these dangers, those who ought to instruct and warn, *will not* perform their duty; if Protestant parents *will* send their children to Seminaries conducted by Romish ecclesiastics; if Protestant, and even professedly pious, females *will* consent to unite themselves in matrimonial bonds with Roman Catholics, with the hope of finding little or no evil on the score of religion, to result from the union; if those who profess to know and love the truth, *will* send their children, and other beloved relatives, to reside in families or neighbourhoods, where they will be exposed to much intercourse with proselyting and plausible Romanists; and, finally, if ministers of the Gospel, whose duty it is to "cry aloud, and not to spare, to lift up their voice as a trumpet," to warn men of danger, and arm them against it,—*will not* give themselves the trouble to gain information of the real character and designs of this insidious foe of God and man, and of the proper means of exposing his anti-christian claims, and refuting his superstitious doctrines—we know of no remedy. The consequences must be deplorable; but the evil will be required at the hands of the indolent and unfaithful delinquents.

THE SACRED POETRY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

POETRY and music are intimately related, and are both natural expressions of human thought and feeling. The first efforts of rude nations towards the creation of a literature are poetical in their character. The talk of the Indian orator only requires rhythmical measurement to transform it into poetry, occasionally rising into strains of genuine sublimity. No nation was ever found without its appropriate popular songs and music, rude or refined, according to the degree of intelligence and cultivation attained; and perhaps a more powerful engine has never been employed to control the feelings and energies of a people. Hence the patriot and the demagogue have alike exhibited the attractions of their country or faction, in the stanzas of a popular song, and taught the people to sing it in the streets and by the fireside. The followers of the Lamb, and the advocates of error, have always been accustomed to condense the spirit of their sentiments into psalms and hymns, and enjoin upon their disciples to sing them unceasingly in the public convocation, and in the private hours of devotion. The strains of the poetry when invested with the colouring of genius, and the tones of the music when judiciously adapted, always touch a chord, which vibrates to the soul of sensibility. There is a fascination about a well performed piece of music, which even a barbarian will feel; and there are strains of Christian psalmody, which possess power to charm the cold ear of in-

fidelity itself. In most consummate wisdom, therefore, did he, who established the religion of the Gospel, ordain poetry and music as an essential part of its services. Well he knew what was in man, and what was best adapted to make its way to the heart of man, which, like a hostile citadel, is barricaded against all more direct and less attractive modes of address.

From the Jewish synagogue, sacred music very naturally passed over into the Christian sanctuary. Our blessed Lord himself, on that memorable night, when he instituted the Sacramental memorial of his dying love, furnished the transition act by concluding the solemnity with a hymn. As the first Christians were drawn from the synagogue, they naturally brought with them those songs of Zion, which were associated with all their earliest recollections, and best feelings, and appropriated them to the services of the new dispensation; at least so far as they deemed them applicable to the circumstances and the wants of Christian worshippers. But to what extent the biblical psalms were adopted in the Christian Church, and what transformations they underwent in the hands of apostles, or of Christian poets in apostolic times, we have no information. At a later period we find them in general use in the Churches, and esteemed by the fathers the most inestimable portion of their religious services. The apostolical canons contain this injunction: "Let another sing the hymns of David, and let the people repeat the concluding lines."* "The presiding priest," says Dionysius Areop. "begins the sacred melody of the psalms, the whole ecclesi-

* Ἐτερος τις (sc. ἀναγινώσκων) τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω. "Not merely the singing of the psalms is here intended, but also the repetition of the concluding words, (τὰ ἀκροστίχια, i. e. extrema versuum, and not as the old Latin translation falsely renders it, initia versuum.") *Augusti, Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie. Bd. V. p. 236.*

musical choir accompanying him in the holy psalmody.* No other testimony is required to prove, that the Book of Psalms was early used in the Christian Church, and a single extract will suffice to show the estimation in which it was held. "In the perusal of other books," says Athanasius, "we generally think of the persons of whom they treat, we admire them, and even set them before us for imitation; but in the psalms, every one imagines he reads his own thoughts and emotions, and he is as much affected by them as if they were his own. I believe also, that a man can find nothing more glorious than these psalms; for they embrace the whole life of man, the affections of his mind, and the emotions of his soul. Whether he seeks repentance and conversion, or suffers in tribulation and temptation, or is undergoing persecution, or has escaped from some ambush, or is filled with sorrow and inquietude, or has experienced any similar affliction, or if he discovers that he grows in holiness, or desires to praise and glorify God, he can select a psalm suited to every occasion, and thus will find that they are written for him." We can hardly conceive it possible that the psalms of David could have been so generally adopted in the Churches, and so highly esteemed by the best of the fathers, unless they had been introduced or sanctioned by the apostles, and inspired teachers.

We have reason to suppose however, that they were not exclusively used, at least, in the Gentile Churches; for the apostle distinctly mentions *psalms*, *hymns*, and *spiritual songs*, as known and used among them. Whatever may be the precise meaning of these several terms, or the definite character of the several classes of sacred lyrics indicated by them, it seems hardly probable, that so many appellations

* ὁ ἱεράρχης ἀπάρεχται τῆς ἱεῖας τῶν ψαλμῶν μελωδίας, συναρμόσῃς αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἱερολογίαν ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμήσεως. *De Hierarch. Eccl. c. 3.*

would be applied to the Psalms of David, however they might be classified and arranged in the Christian psalm-book. Jerome, it is true, explains them all of different classes of poems in the psalter; calling those pieces *psalms*, which pertain to some moral theme, (*ad ethicum locum pertinent*),—those *hymns*, which exhibit the power and majesty of God, and his works of wonder and grace, to which *hallelujah* is prefixed or appended,—and *spiritual songs* are those which treat of superiour beings and the harmony of the universe. The same opinion substantially has been held also by some modern writers, who suppose the *ψαλμοί* to correspond with the *תהלים*, the *ὑμνοί* with the *מזמורים*, and the *ὕδαι πνεύματος* with the *שירים* of the Old Testament psalmody. Another ancient explanation, equally probable and ingenious, may be given. “The *psalm*, properly speaking, is harmoniously sung with an instrumental accompaniment, the psaltery: the *ode* is a musical and harmonious piece, intended only for the voice; and the *hymn* is an elaborate doxology, referring to the blessings we have experienced, or the evils we have committed.”* Others have reduced the signification to two classes, embracing only psalms and hymns; while Le Clerc applies all the terms to one class. “*Malim ergo dicere, Paulum idem tribus verbis significasse.*”† Still it seems more correspondent to Scriptural usage to consider the term *psalms* here, as meaning the Book of Psalms, as used in Luke xxiv. 44, and equivalent to *Βιβλος ψαλμῶν*, Luke xx. 42. Acts i. 20, to which the New Testament writers so frequently refer for prophecies, proofs,

* *Ψαλμὸς μὲν κυρίως, ὁ μετὰ ὀργανικοῦ ψαλτηρίου ἐμμελῶς ἐκφωνούμενος. ὥδῃ δὲ φωνή τις μουσική τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιος, ἀπὸ μόνου στόματος. Ὑμνος δὲ ἡ ἐπισεταγμένη δοξολογία, ἥ καλῶν ὦν πεπόνθαμεν, ἥ κακῶν ὧν δεδράκαμεν.* Euthymii Zigabeni Prefat. in Psalmos.

† Not. Ad. Hammondii N. T.

and illustrations of their facts and doctrines. The word hymn is only used in one other passage of the New Testament, in which it describes the act of devotion with which our blessed Lord closed the services of the Sacramental Supper. It is not known with certainty, but commonly supposed, that he used the Hallel, or great song of praise, usually chanted by the Jews at the close of the paschal service, embracing the six psalms from the 113th to the 118th. It may be proper to remark here, that in the original of this passage (Matt. xxvi. 30, and Mark xiv. 26,) not the substantive ὕμνος, but the participle of the correlative verb, ὑμνήσαντες is used.* The verb is also used in Acts xvi. 25, but is equally indefinite, as it does not determine whether the language of these "praises" or devotions of the prisoners, was borrowed from the Scriptures, or from the compositions of their brethren, or was the effusion of their own minds, extemporaneous, or previously composed. In the absence of all positive testimony, we may conjecture, that the *hymns* spoken of were poetical versions, or illustrations of appropriate passages of Scripture; and the *spiritual songs*, religious odes composed by Christians expressive of the spiritual emotions and experience of believers. It cannot be deemed unreasonable to suppose, that even at this early age, as well as at later periods, men of education and

* Augustin has preserved a fragment of ancient poetry, which he tells us the Priscillianists used, and held to be the hymn composed by our Lord on this occasion. As a curiosity, it may be worthy of a place here.

Solvere volo, et solvi volo.
 Salvare volo, et salvari volo.
 Generari volo,
 Cantare volo.
 Saltate cuncti!
 Ornare volo et ornari volo.
 Verbo illusi cuncta,
 Et non sum illusus a toto.

genius, and piety, employed their talents in the composition of hymns and spiritual odes, which being approved by the apostles, were introduced into the services of the Church. It is not probable, however, that any were written under the influence of inspiration; or they would have been preserved with other inspired writings.

That such Scriptural hymns were early composed and used by Christians, we have all the evidence, which specimens of undoubted antiquity, can afford. A morning hymn began with these words:

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ,	Glory in the highest to God,
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη,	And on earth peace,
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*	Among men goodwill.

In another part of the hymn the following lines occur:

ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ,	O Lamb of God,
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς,	O Son of the Father,
ὁ αἰῶνα τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,	Who bearest the sins of the world,
πρόσδεξαι ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.	Receive our prayer.

Several distinguished writers, as Heumann, Michaelis, Paulus, Reinhard, &c., have maintained, that Paul's Epistles contain quotations from hymns, in common use when the apostle wrote. Eph. v. 14, is considered the most decisive case.

Ἑγερταί ὁ καθεύδων,	Awake, O thou that sleepest,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν	And arise from the dead
καὶ ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.	And Christ shall enlighten thee.

It is expressly given by the apostle as a quotation, but without any reference to its author, or origin. To this have been added 1 Tim. iii. 16, and 2 Tim. ii. 11—13. Grotius,

* Chrysostom (Homil. 3. on Coloss.) mentions a hymn ordinarily sung at the communion, beginning with these words.

and after him many others, have considered the passage in Acts iv. 24—30, as a hymn, rather than a prayer. Augusti calls it the *first Christian psalm*, and gives a poetical version of it. With Michaelis, he supposes it was sung, or rather chanted, according to the custom of the Jews in their synagogues; which the words ὁμοθυμαδὸν ᾤσαν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ᾤκον, not only admit, but seem to require; as they show, that it was not a prayer offered by one, but a hymn sung by all with one accord.

The composition and introduction of hymns, would be more easy in the Gentile Churches, especially among the Greeks and Romans, than among their Jewish brethren. The languages they used were polished and well adapted to poetry; they possessed more intelligence and education, and consequently, more men competent to such composition. The Hebrew Christians had probably been accustomed from childhood, to consider inspired psalms alone admissible in the worship of the sanctuary, and cherished a holy, and even a superstitious dread of every thing like innovation, or departure from the good old customs of their fathers. In addition to this, the language used in Palestine at that time, would have been a miserable element in which to clothe the warm effusions of devotional feeling; though perhaps the Hebrew psalms might without much difficulty be altered to approximate so nearly to it as to be intelligible. In accordance with this opinion, we find the apostle James admonishing his Hebrew brethren in these terms, “Is any merry, let him *sing psalms*,” without mentioning hymns or spiritual songs, as Paul repeatedly does when addressing Gentile Christians.*

In the progress of the Church through successive ages, the

* James v. 13. We are aware that the “psalms” are not definitely mentioned in the original; the verb ψαλλέτω only being used, which might be applied to a hymn of recent composition as appropriately, as to a psalm of David. Yet as we know that the latter were

character of its psalmody and music will vary with the successive changes of sentiments, manners, and institutions. Each branch of the Church too, distinguished from the rest by its peculiar language or dialect, must have its peculiar psalm-book. Hence it would become indispensable, in the founders of the Church, to prepare a system of psalmody in each of the principal seats, or centres of the Church, as Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus or Corinth. Rome, Alexandria. Although the Greek was then the universal or learned language, and circles might be found, and perhaps Churches formed in all these places, in which the Greek books and services might be used; yet where the population spoke a different language, a different psalm-book would be necessary, even more directly necessary, in so far as the public services were concerned, than versions of the Scriptures: for the preachers, if intelligent, might translate the portions or texts they had occasion to use from Sabbath to Sabbath, but the psalms and hymns must be put into the hands of the choir, or singing members of the Church generally. The apostles would naturally devote the requisite attention to this subject, and employ competent persons in the work, where their own engagements and qualifications did not permit them to perform it. Of this part of their labours, however, no record has reached us. The first system of Christian psalmody, like the first Gospel, was most probably prepared at Jerusalem, the mother Church, in what is called by the New Testament and early Christian writers, the Hebrew language—a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan—which was then the vernacular language of Palestine. The psalms of David may have been already in use in this dialect in the synagogue or temple service of the Jews; and if not, it would be very easy to make the requisite changes of words, and

used, and have no intimation of the use of any other among Hebrew Christians, it seems more natural and just, thus to apply it.

alterations in the forms and declensions. Still greater changes of the same kind, would transfer the psalms into the Chaldaic and Syriac languages. The Arabic, diverging farther from the parent stock, would require more considerable changes, but would still offer all the advantages, in facility of translation, of a sister dialect. The possession of these psalms would materially facilitate the composition of new hymns, more appropriate to the character and circumstances of the Christian dispensation, and would naturally create a consciousness of the want of such an addition to their psalmody, and pave the way for its easier introduction. The original formation of a Christian psalm-book, and its successive changes through the Oriental or Shemitish dialects, would constitute an interesting chapter in the annals of the Church; but as we have no positive information on the subject, we shall not indulge conjecture, but proceed to the history of succeeding ages, and gather up the fragments which the fathers have left, as far as opportunity and means will permit.

The early ecclesiastical writers devoted little attention to this subject, except when it was connected with some public events, or heretical opinions. In the Syrian Church, an occasion of this kind was early presented, and we are accordingly favoured with some interesting notices. There is good reason to believe, that the biblical psalms were introduced and used in the Syrian Church; and the composition of new psalms and hymns was early undertaken. If the sentiments of the distinguished Ephraim are a just specimen of the prevailing taste, we cannot wonder that much attention should have been paid to this subject. The following eulogium on the Book of Psalms, or rather the singing of psalms, is ascribed to Ephraim by a German writer.* “Psalmody is the repose of the soul, the seal of peace, the bond of

* Schoene, *Geschichts-forschungen*, &c. Vol. II. p. 200.

friendship, the reconciliation of the divided, the covenant of peace among controvertists. Psalmody calls the angels to our assistance, protects from fear in the night, affords rest in daily labours, protection to children, honour to gray hairs, consolation to the aged, and embellishment to females. Psalmody is heard in the desert, and used in the public services ; it instructs the ignorant, and confirms the intelligent ; it is the voice of the Church ; it illuminates our festivals, and awakens penitential emotions ; for it might even draw tears from a stone." The purity of the Syrian Church was invaded at an early date by the poetical fancies and philosophical speculations of the Gnostics. Their doctrines were poetry, ("Gnosis ipsa est poesis,") and their theologians poets ; who saw Eons forming and transforming a world of uncreated matter, the stars animated by subordinate deities, ("numina astralia,") holy Eons creating good men, and evil ones creating wicked men, and the Holy Ghost as a mother bearing children.* Their doctrines were made popular, and widely extended by the hymns and odes of Bardesanes, and his son Harmonius, in the latter part of the second century. "Bardesanes," says Ephraim, his orthodox countryman, "composed hymns, and adapted them to music, and prepared (finxit) *psalms*, and introduced metres, and arranged words by measure and quantity. In this way he tendered his poison to the ignorant enveloped in the charms of poetry ; for the sick refuse salutary food. He imitated David, that he might be adorned and recommended by similar honours. For this purpose he composed a hundred and fifty psalms." Companies of youth gathered around him, and learned to sing his psalms and accompany them with the

* *Hahn's Bardesanes*, &c. p. 64. "Quis non claudat aures suas, ne audiat dicentes, Spiritum S. duas filias peperisse.—Jesus tergat os meum ! nam inquino linguam meam, cum illorum arcana retengo." *Hymni Ephraimi*. Ibid.

harp. Into these psalms he infused his mystic doctrines, and rendered them palatable to the taste of his countrymen, by the charms of novelty, and the embellishments of oriental style.* His son Harmonius cultivated the muses with still greater success, and devoted his talents to the promotion of the same heretical cause in which the father was engaged. Having completed his education in Greece, he was enabled to enrich the poetical language of his native country with Grecian measures and imagery; and thus by the sweetness of his melodies, (τῇ εἰς μέλους ἡδονῇ,) and the richness of his illustrations of the mysterious dogmas of Gnosticism, he surrounded them with no ordinary fascinations. The system took deep hold upon the hearts of the people, and was extensively propagated, and long cherished among them, "so that the Syrian Church was in danger of being overflowed with Gnostic errors through the mighty vehicle of song."

About a century after the age of Bardesanes, Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who rejected the divinity and personal dignity of our Saviour, prohibited the use of the psalms sung in honour of Christ, because they were modern and unauthorised compositions,† and introduced at the Easter Festival, hymns to be sung by women, (ψαλμοὺς εἰς ἑαυτὸν,) to his own honour. Mosheim and Augusti doubt the latter statement, although it rests on the same authority as the former, and deem it more probable, that he rejected the modern compositions to replace the Psalms of David. This opinion accords better with the reason assigned by Paul for the change; and he would probably find less difficulty in accommodating or perverting the biblical psalms to his Socinian opinions, than the modern hymns, composed expressly in honour of the Son of God. At a later date we find the council of Ephesus also, though probably for different rea-

* Hahn. p. 31.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl.

sons, prohibiting the use in public worship of psalms written by private individuals, (*ιδιωτικὸς ψαλμὸς*;) together with all apochryphal books; and enjoining the use of the canonical books of the Old and New Testament alone. This was probably done on account of the errors and heresies, which had been so extensively propagated in the Churches by these attractive instruments. Chrysostom in the Greek Church, and Ephraim in the Syrian, adopted a different mode of contending with these poetically popular heresies. They attacked the adversary with his own weapons, and turned upon him all the power of poetry and eloquence, augmented by the resistless force of truth.

Two hundred years after the age of Bardesanes, appeared the orthodox Ephraim, "the prophet of the Syrians," whose pious spirit was aroused by the prevalence of heretical doctrines, and the popularity of the Gnostic hymns. "As a champion of Christ, he armed himself and declared war against the host of adversaries, and especially against the errors of Bardesanes and his followers. And when he saw that all were captivated with music and singing, and the youth devoted to profane and dishonourable sports and dances, he instituted a choir of virgins, and taught them to sing odes, or hymns on sublime and spiritual subjects—on the nativity of Christ, his baptism, fasting, sufferings, resurrection, ascension, and the other mysteries of his gracious dispensation: he also composed hymns on the martyrs, on repentance, and the state of the dead; and induced the virgins of the covenant (*virgnes sacræ*, *διακόνισσαι*,*) to assemble in the Church on all the sacred festivals, and celebrations, or anniversaries of the martyrs, and Lord's days. As a father and choral leader he was always with them, and taught them musical measures, and the laws of modulation until by his efforts he secured the favour and influence of

* *Quæ virginitatem Deo voverant.* Hahn, &c.

all the citizens (of Edessa,) and confounded and dissipated the ranks of the adversaries.^{***} He is said to have borrowed the polish of his armour from the skill of his opponents, the melody of his versification from the mellifluous strains of Harmonius. He also adopted the music or tunes of the popular heresy, and accommodated his measures to them : and thus adorned the salutary truths of the Gospel, in all the charms which genius and taste had thrown around the dogmas of error.†

Ephraim wrote, besides many prose works, a large number of hymns and odes on a great variety of subjects. We have before us a considerable collection,‡ under the name of hymns, although some of them are odes and elegies of considerable length. A few select stanzas may not be unacceptable. We shall not attempt, however, to exhibit the rythmical form of the verse, but merely give the sense of each line in order, without metre or poetical language, as is generally done in translating Hebrew poetry, to which the short lines and sententious expressions bear some resemblance. A funeral hymn for a deacon begins thus.

Behold our brother is departed
From this abode of woe :
The mild light (of heaven) awaits him ;
Let us pray in his departure,
That his guide may be propitious.

He was exemplary in public,
And chaste in private life ;
Tranquillity and peace
He manifested to his brethren :
Beatify him in the mansions above.

* Acta S. Ephraimi in Assemani Bibliotheca Orien. T. I.

† Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. Cap. 26.

‡ Hahn's Chrestomathia Syriaca, sive S. Ephraimi Carmina Selecta.

His eyes were ever vigilant
 In his place before thee,
 And wept when he prayed,
 And confessed his sins :
 May they (his eyes) behold thy grace.

Thou didst count him worthy to be
 A minister in thy sanctuary,
 To dispense thy body
 And thy blood to thy flock :
 Feed him with thy lambs.

It may be observed as a peculiarity of this class of the Syriac ode, that each stanza concludes with a doxology, or ejaculation, (*ἐφύμνος*), generally of one line, sometimes two or three. A hymn on the mystery of the trinity, is introduced with the following stanzas, of which the whole hymn contains twenty-four.

The standard of truth
 Is raised in the Scriptures ;
 The blind have forsaken it.
 And begun to shoot darts
 At the Lord of angels.

The standard is this ;
 There is one only Father,
 Without division ;
 And one only Son
 Beyond comprehension.

This standard is plain,
 Is exalted in light ;
 But opposers have shot
 Their arrows by night,
 Under cover of darkness.

A large portion of Ephraim's hymns, as might have been

expected from the circumstances under which he wrote, are controversial and doctrinal. He may properly be esteemed the author of a new hymn-book ; which was afterwards generally used in the Syrian Churches by all parties, the Jacobites, Nestorians, &c., without exception. He thus provided a sweet and salutary antidote to the poison, which had been hereditary among them since the days of Bardesanes and Harmonius : and rendered the celebrations of the victorious martyrs truly splendid, by his appropriate odes.*

Ephraim was followed by many other celebrated poets, who enriched the hymnology of their Churches, both orthodox and schismatic, with appropriate additions from time to time. Isaac and Balai are mentioned by Gregory Bar Hebræus, as having written many canticles in the measure of David's Psalms (*ad Davidicos versiculos*;) and the Cuchitæ distinguished by piety and zeal, who published many hymns; and Severus or Seviro, who translated hymns from the Greek, and prefixed to them verses, or mottos from the Psalms of David. Jacob of Edessa, and John of Damascus have also rendered their names illustrious by the composition of sacred poetry ; and Narses Garbono has been denominated by his countrymen, *Kinnoro d'ruch*, the musician of the Holy Ghost, and the poet of Christianity ; and several other names are celebrated in the ecclesiastical annals of Syria, either for the composition of sacred lyrics, or the improvement of Church music. Sabar-Jesus, a patriarch of the ninth century, writes thus : " In the year of the Hegira, 220, I travelled through Aram, (Syria, including Mesopotamia,) and every where found a deficiency of learned clergymen, so that even in the schools of Mar Theodore, Mar Mares, and Mahuz, except a few aged priests, who still remained of the learned numbers of former days, none were competent even to sing the daily psalms. The same state

* Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 26.*

of things also existed in Elam, Mesen, Persia, and Chorosan. I organised the Sabbath psalmody for the whole year. Since, according to the ancient usage, the youth were instructed in the psalms, the pentateuch, the divisions of the psalms, and the prophets, and when they came to the New Testament, were sent away to learn a trade; therefore I, Sabar-Jesus, patriarch, issued a canonical decree, requiring them, after learning the psalms, and the music of the sacred services, to read the Gospels and apostolical writings throughout, afterwards to study the texts from the Old Testament for the sundays and festivals, and then engage in their mechanical pursuits."

Of the psalmody of the other oriental Churches little is known. Munter found two or three Chaldaic *hymns* in the Corsinian library at Rome, which Augusti has published.* They consist entirely of encomiums on the Nestorian saints and patriarchs. Their age is not mentioned, but is certainly not early. A specimen is here subjoined in Augusti's Latin translation.

Hymnus patrum Catholicorum Orientis recitandus in commemoratione Unius.

Hymnum dicant ecclesiae; ecclesia superior, et ecclesia inferior,

Die Commemorationis Patrum Catholicorum Orientalium;
Patriarcharum Orthodoxorum, Theologorum refertorum spiritu,

Qui pugnarunt et vicerunt, et coronati sunt in agone operum virtutis;

Qui pro veritate propugnarunt, et contuderunt omnes haereses,

Inflatas a Spiritu erroris; et dogmata perversa confuderunt,
Quae disseminavit Malus in ecclesia sancta; et plantarunt ipsi veritatem,

* *Denkwürdigkeiten*, &c. Vol III. p. 400.

in terra intellectuum Christum amantium, et ipsos irrigaverunt,

Aquis viventibus, quas spiritus fluere fecit in eorum mentibus.

Initium ordinis pleni omni beatitudine, *Thaddæus* et *Mari*
ex Septuaginta.

Et *Abrius* indutus omni sanctitate, consanguineus semper Virginis.

Et *S. Abraham Capacius*, qui placavit Regem Persarum,
Et sanavit ejus filium unigenitum ab ipsius morbo diabolico.

The last four lines are a fair specimen of all the rest of the *hymns*, being little more than a catalogue of names with brief panegyrics appended. Of doctrinal sentiment and Scriptural truth, they are as destitute as of poetic merit, and their only value consists in the information they convey respecting the character of the liturgy used on festival occasions, and the testimony they afford to the superstitious veneration for the worthies of former ages. If they bear not the broad seal of papal canonization, they approximate too nearly to be compatible with a Scriptural estimation and improvement of the characters and lives of departed believers.

The Greek psalmody demands attention next. At the time of the organization of the Christian Church, the Greek was the learned language; and was accordingly more or less used in all civilized nations. While the Romans were exercising universal dominion, the Greeks still maintained their superiority in science and literature. The language was extensively used throughout Western Asia and Egypt, though principally by the higher and educated classes. Although not mentioned among the dialects spoken on the day of pentecost, there can be no doubt, that the Gospel was preached in this language almost, if not quite, from the commencement of the dispensation. The first Church or

ganized at Antioch was Grecian, and others in the Greek provinces of Asia Minor, and the islands of the Levant followed soon after. This organization could not be completed without an adequate number of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. The Scriptures of the Old Testament they already possessed in a standard translation made nearly three centuries before; but the psalms as exhibited in this translation could not be appropriately adapted to music without considerable transformation. Poetic form and arrangement at least, if not rhythm, would be requisite. It does not appear, however, from the earlier specimens extant that they divided their psalms or hymns into regular metres or stanzas; and probably their music, being more of the character of chants, than of modern tunes, did not require such distribution. The earlier periods of the history, however, afford us little information on the subject. It might have been expected from the literary character of the Greeks, and the number of ecclesiastical writers, whose works have survived the general wreck of ancient literature, that we should be furnished with sufficient materials for a complete history of Grecian psalmody, even from the days of the apostles. But in this expectation the enquirer is painfully disappointed. Several centuries pass in review, and present only here and there occasional references to this portion of the services of the sanctuary. Some have even supposed, that, during the period of frequent persecutions between the days of the apostles and the accession of Constantine, the Christians had discarded music from the public services, for the purpose of avoiding every thing which might attract attention or betray them to their adversaries. But we possess sufficient information to contradict this opinion; and if we had none, we should not esteem it probable; for even in this period they enjoyed many intervals of peace and prosperity, when they could worship their God and Saviour according to his own commands—commands requiring them

to sing praises to his name, and admonish one another with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs. Besides, the injunctions of their ascended Lord were too important in the view of their unadulterated faith, and the language of sacred praise too dear and congenial to their fervid hearts, to be readily relinquished. Various reasons have been assigned for this deficiency of information ; such as, the fragmentary character of the surviving history of that period, the efforts of persecutors to destroy the manuscripts, the comparative paucity of books, and the variety of parties and sects into which the Church was divided in later ages. But the kindness of providential care has preserved as much intelligence on this subject as would be essentially important, and this we ought to receive with grateful contentment.

Philo, a contemporary of the apostles, is said by Nicephorus to have testified, that the primitive Christians after the time of Christ and his apostles sang in their public worship, not only the Psalms of David, and other poems from the Scriptures, but also hymns or odes composed by themselves.* In this statement we recognise distinctly the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, mentioned by the apostle. In the apostolical Fathers we find such admonitions as these : “ But do you also individually become a choir, that in concord and unanimity, receiving the tone from God in unity,† “ ye may sing to the Father by Jesus Christ with one voice.”‡—“ That a choir being formed in love, ye may sing to the Father by Christ Jesus.”§ Origen, in his eighth book

* Haug's *Alterthümer der Christen*, &c. p. 381.

† *Χρῶμα Θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐν ἐνότητι.* The word *χρῶμα* indicates that delicate arrangement of the tones and semi-tones, designated in modern technical language by the *Chromatic scale* ; called *Chroma*, or Colour, probably on account of being marked in the Grecian stave with colours different from the diatonic scale. It is probably used in this place for refined, elevated melody.

‡ S. Ignatii Epist. ad Ephesios. *Basel. Ed.* p. 23.

§ Ibid. ad. Romanos. p. 66.

against Celsus, declares expressly, that the early Christians not only prayed but sang in their meetings.* The well-known testimony of Pliny, a distinguished Roman of the second century, Procurator of Bithynia, and himself a persecutor of the Christians, proves, that during the darkest periods of their sufferings they did not neglect the songs of Zion, or hang their harps upon the willows. When cited before the Procurator's inquisitorial court and examined, "they assured him that their only crime, or more properly, error, consisted in assembling on certain appointed days, commonly before day-light, to sing together, or alternately (*vicissim*,) a song to Christ, as God, and to bind themselves by an oath not to commit any iniquity, &c."† "We testify our gratitude to Him," says Justin Martyr, "and glorify Him by songs and hymns of praise." Clement of Alexandria not only mentions vocal but instrumental music at the Sacramental feast. "If any one is able to sing and play on the harp or lyre at the Communion, he is not liable to censure, for he imitates the righteous King of the Hebrews, who was acceptable to God: the guests, however, ought to regard moderation in singing; that only those should sing, who possess good voices, lest the euphony of the psalms should be destroyed." At a later period he declares himself opposed to the effeminate church music, because it enervated the mind and led to licentiousness; a spurious refinement having already found its way into the music of the Church at Alexandria.‡ And well might a pious Father's feelings revolt, if his ears were tormented with any thing like the light futing and tripping airs, which have so extensively marred the devotions of the sanctuary in modern days.

A hymn always closed the Sacramental services. After the prayer was ended, the priest said, *Tὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*,

* Haug. p. 381. † Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

‡ Schoene, *Geschichts-forschungen*. Vol. I.

"Holy things belong to the holy." The people answered, "One is holy, even our Lord Jesus Christ." After this he exhorted the people to partake of this sacred mystery, which as Cyril observes, was attended with sacred songs; and they sung together, "Come, taste and see how good is the Lord."* Chrysostom, in a Homily on the 144th psalm, remarks, "This psalm deserves special attention, for it contains the words, which are always sung by the Initiated (the members,) saying, all eyes wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meet in due time: for he who has been made a child, and partaker of the spiritual table, with propriety praises the Father." A curious modification of this custom is described by Tertullian, an African Bishop of the second century. "We do not lie (sit) down at the table, till a prayer is offered to God. Each one eats only what is necessary to a hungry man, and drinks what is moderate for the sober. Each satisfies himself in so far as he is mindful, that God should be glorified in the night. In our conversations we imagine God hears us. When the water for washing the hands, and the lights are brought in, each one is required publicly to sing a hymn to the praise of God, either out of the holy Scriptures, or of his own composition, by which it is known whether he has been temperate in drinking."† This scene reminds us of the picture of the Church of Corinth, a century before, drawn by the pen of an apostle. We wonder at the rudeness, and sacrilegious irregularity of those Churches, but do we not too often ourselves, carry to the Sacramental board, feelings almost as carnal and unsubdued? How seldom is the Gospel received in the fulness of its heavenly spirit, and the whole heart yielded to its transforming influence. How many bear the name of Christians without any knowledge of Christ, in "the power of his re-

* Cave's *Primitive Christianity*. German Ed. p. 283.

† It is uncertain whether Tertullian is here describing the Lord's Supper, or the love feasts, (*agapae*.)

surrection and the fellowship of his sufferings," and approach his table, and eat, and drink with his children, and go away to dishonour his name and wound his cause by worldliness, intemperance, and other vices !

As a specimen of the ancient sacred poetry, a morning hymn, found by Bishop Usher among the Alexandrian manuscripts, bearing the impress of considerable antiquity, may be here inserted.

ἙΛΕΘΙΝΟΣ ἙΛΕΘΙΝΟΣ.

Καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε,
 Καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
 Καταξίωσον κύριε καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην.
 Ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.
 Ἐυλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
 Καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξάσμενον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.
 Εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε, δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.
 Κύριε καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.
 Ἐγὼ εἶπα, κύριε ἐλέησόν με,
 Ἰάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι ἡμαρτόν σοι.
 Κύριε πρὸς σε κατέφυγα.
 Δίδαξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός μου.
 Ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς.
 Ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὁψόμεθα φῶς.
 Παρατήρειν τὸ λέός σου τοῖς γινώσκουσίν σε.

A MORNING HYMN.

Every day will I bless thee,
 And I will praise thy name forever.
 Grant, O Lord, that this day
 We may be kept from sin.
 Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of our fathers,
 And let thy name be extolled and glorified forever. Amen.
 Blessed art thou, O Lord, teach me thy judgments.
 O Lord, thou art our refuge from generation to generation.

I have said, Lord have mercy on me,
 Recover my soul, for I have sinned against thee.
 O Lord, I flee unto thee.
 Teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God.
 For with thee is the fountain of life.
 In thy light shall we see light.
 Extend thy mercy to those that know thee.

It will be perceived at a glance, that, on account of the unmetrical and unpoetical form of this ode, in adapting music, the anthem or the chant alone could be used. "On the metre of the Grecian hymns," says Augusti, "little can be said. In the ancient spiritual songs of Clement, Gregory, Nazianzen, Nemesius, &c., we find much accuracy and regularity, and we may always be satisfied with the Anapaests and Iambics, which were the prevailing measures." In fact so few of the ancient hymns remain, that we have scarcely data for a judgment on their poetical and rhythmical character. In the existing liturgies and collections, no hymns are found earlier than the eighth century, and the works of the fathers furnish only a few detached pieces; with the exception of Gregory Nazianzen, of whose poetry a considerable amount is preserved.

Some interesting testimonies are preserved of the private use of the hymns and sacred songs. Thus Clemens Alex. describes the pious man, as "continually blessing, praising, singing and presenting hymns to God the Lord of all;" being assisted by the Holy Spirit of God, "without whose aid it was impossible to sing, either in good rhyme, tune, metre, or harmony."* "A good Christian's life is a continued festival, his sacrifices are prayer and praises, reading of the Scriptures before meat, and singing of psalms and hymns at meat."† Hence, in their feasts and banquets,

* Origen De Orat. † 6. Kings Primitive Church. Pt. 2. p. 7.

† Clemens. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 7.

“when they drank to one another, they sung an hymn, therein blessing God for his inexpressible gifts towards mankind both as to their bodies and souls.”* “Let no festival occasion pass,” says Cyprian,† “without celebrating this celestial grace. Let the solemn festival resound with psalms, the precious viands of the soul. If we have a spiritual relish, these pious affections will charm our ears.” Tertullian urges it as a strong objection to the marriage of a female believer with an unbeliever, that they would be unable to sing in sweet accord. “What would her husband sing to her? Or what would she sing to her husband?” But if both were pious, “psalms and hymns would resound between them, and they would mutually excite one another, who shall sing unto God best.”‡ Chrysostom earnestly exhorts the men to teach their wives and children appropriate hymns, to be sung in their various employments, and especially at the table; “because such spiritual songs were an excellent antidote to temptation: for as the devil is no where more busy to draw us into his net, than at the table, tempting us to intemperance or excessive indulgence; so we must diligently prepare ourselves with psalms both before and at table; and again when we rise from the table we must sing spiritual songs to the praise of God with our wives and children.”§ “*Admonish and edify one another with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.* Behold how carefully the apostle avoids imposing burdensome duties. Since reading may be laborious, and burdensome, he directs you not to the history but to the psalms, by which you may at the same time inspire your heart with serenity, and imperceptibly alleviate the burden of your cares. *With hymns and spiritual songs.* Your children are still learning Satan’s

* Ibid. Lib. 6.

† Epist. ad Donat. Cave’s Primitive Christianity. Pt. 1. Ch. 9.

‡ Ad Uxor. Lib. 2. quoted by King.

§ Chrysostom in Ps. 41, quoted by Cave.

songs and dances, like cooks, caterers, and dancing masters, but a psalm no one learns. It is even deemed something of which a man should be ashamed, something ludicrous, or ridiculous. Hence the propagation of every evil; for the growth of the plant will be in proportion to the quality of the soil; and the fruit will bear the same character. If planted in a sandy or saline soil, such also will be the fruit, but if in sweet and fertile ground, a similar difference will appear in the production. The doctrines of the Bible are a fountain, which waters the soul. Teach then your children to sing those psalms full of wisdom, enjoining temperance and self-government, and especially avoidance of intercourse with the wicked.”*

The alternate or responsive mode of singing was introduced into the Christian services at an early date, and much earlier in the Oriental, than in the Western Churches. The Syrian Church, it is said, claimed the honour of first adopting this kind of music. It was established in Antioch before the time of Constantine, by Ignatius, a Bishop, who, according to Syrian tradition, was instructed in a vision to imitate the songs of the Seraphim. At a later date, two monks are also said to have rendered their names illustrious by introducing the (*ὕμνος ἀντιφωνος*) responsive hymns into the Church of Antioch.† These statements are reconciled, by supposing that the former refers to the Syriac, the latter to the Greek Church in Antioch. From this region, it gradually spread to the West. Chrysostom found it established in Constantinople when he settled in that capital, and Ambrose introduced it into his Church at Milan; from whence it soon extended generally through the Western Churches. Sometimes the officiating priest or priests, as choristers, sang

* Ibid. Hom. IX. in Epist. ad Col.—See *Der heilige Chrysostomus*, &c. by Leander Van Ess. (*Darmstadt* 1824.)

† Theodoret*i* Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. Cap. 19.

the principal part of the hymn, and left the people merely to respond the chorus, doxology, or amen ; sometimes a choir was organized to lead, while the congregation merely uttered the responses : and in other cases, the congregation itself was divided in some way, and taught to sing alternate stanzas. The worship of the Christians described by Pliny, is supposed to have been of this character. “ *Carmen Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.*” On any other supposition it is difficult to give a natural and consistent interpretation to the words. Basil the Great, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, has given in one of his Epistles, a distinct account of this species of music in his description of a nocturnal service. “ Our customs and rites are the same, which are practised in all other Churches. During the night, the people assemble at the house of prayer, and with sorrow, anguish, and tears confess their sins to God. At last arising from prayers, they arrange themselves for the psalmody, and now, being divided into two parts they sing alternately to each other, (*ὁρχῇ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιφάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις,*) which, at the same time, gives more force to the words, and serves to fix the attention, and prevent wandering of thoughts : then again they enjoin upon one to commence the tune, and the rest accompany him : and thus by this variety of psalmody intermingled with prayer they pass the night ; and at the dawn of the morning all unite with one voice and one heart in a psalm of confession to God, and every one in his own language makes his penitential acknowledgements.” Philo, it is said,* has mentioned this practice as existing, even in his time, among the Christians, who derived it from the Jews. If this testimony is correct, it must have been introduced in the days of the apostles ; and if it had, from the days of David, and even of Moses, as some maintain, occupied a place in the services of the Jewish sanctuary, and

* Haug's *Alterthümer der Christen.* p. 379.

was not in itself unlawful, or inappropriate, we cannot deem it improbable that Hebrew Christians, who still retained all the attachment of early impressions and associations, should transfer this favourite mode of sacred praise to the Christian Church. "It was probably such psalms," says Schoene,* "that the Emperor Theodosius the Great used to sing with his sister, early every morning, to the praise of God in imitation of the customs of monastic life."

The Christian doxology formed a part of the ordinary worship at an early period, although the precise time or manner of its introduction remains unknown. It is not distinctly noticed in the annals of Christian antiquity, until the Arian controversy gave it a degree of prominence, which it had not before possessed. During the progress of this conflict, it became the watchword of sectarianism. According to the testimony of Philostorgius, Flavian of Antioch collected an assembly of monks, and exclaimed, Δόξα πατρί, καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι! "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!" which constituted the symbol of the orthodox faith. Cassianus informs us, that in Gaul one chorister sings the psalm, and at the close, the whole congregation rose and sang, Gloria et patri, et filio, et spiritui sancto. The Arians chanted the varied form, Δόξα πατρί ὁι' υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι! "Glory to the Father through the Son in or by the Holy Ghost!" Leontius, a Bishop of Antioch, who endeavoured to conceal his real sentiments, and refused to join either party, although Theodoret places him among the Arians, in chanting the doxology, uttered the words so indistinctly, that it was impossible to ascertain whether he said καὶ, or διὰ, or ἐν, and only made the concluding words, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, distinctly audible.† Basil sometimes said, Δόξα πατρί μετ' υἱῷ καὶ μετ' ἁγίῳ πνεύματι—"Glory to the Father with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost;" and

* Geschichts-forschungen, Vol. II. p. 198.

† Theodoreti Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. Cap. 19.

at others, Δόξα πατρὶ δι' υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι—"Glory to the Father through the Son by the Holy Ghost." To avoid suspicion, he apologized for this variety of expression by referring to the ancient tradition, which warranted both. When at a later period, the Arians themselves were divided into separate parties, new modifications of the doxology were still used as the distinctive Shibboleth. The Semi-arians sang, μεθ' υἱοῦ, "with the Son;" the Homoiousianists, ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, "by the Son;" while the more rigid advocates of Arius added ἦν, ὅτ' οὐκ ἦν, or ἦν ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἦν—"He was, yet there was a time when he was not." The orthodox on the other hand unwilling to be surpassed in accuracy of definition, or distinctness of expression, appended, by authority of a council, the characteristic clause still retained, with some variation, in the liturgy of the Episcopal Church, "sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in secula seculorum, Amen." As he (or it) was in the beginning, is now, and always, and forevermore, Amen. Thus one of the most sacred portions of the worship of the Church militant, in which it was designed to approximate most closely to the services of the Church above, degenerated into the mere watchword of a party, and the signal for strife and controversy.

On special occasions, another, called the great doxology was sung, which consisted of the song of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest, &c.," variously modified. Chrysostom calls it the ὕμνος τῶν ἁνγέλων, or ὕμνος τῶν χερουβίμ—"the hymn of the Cherubim." This doxology was sometimes expanded into a hymn of considerable length. As a specimen, the version of Gregory Nazianzen here deserves a place.

Δόξα θεῷ πατρὶ, καὶ υἱῷ παμ/Βασιλῆϊ!

Δόξα πανέφνημῳ πνεύματι παναγίῳ!

Ἡ τριάς εἷς θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἔκτισε, πλῆσσε τὰ πάντα,

Ὁ ἄραν ὁ ὑψίστων, γαῖαν ἐπιχθονίων.

Ψόντον, καὶ ποταμούς, καὶ πηγὰς πλήσεν ἐνύδρων,
 Πάντα ζωογονῶν πνεύματος ἐξ ἰδίου :
 Ὅφρα σοφὸν κτίστην πᾶσα κτίσις ὑμνήσῃς,
 Τοῦ ζῆν, τοῦ τε μένειν, αἴτιον ὄντα μόνον.
 Ἡ λογικὴ δὲ μάλιστα φύσις διὰ πάντος ἀείσῃ,
 Ὡς βασιλῆα μέγαν, ὡς ἀγαθὸν πατέρα,
 Πνεύματι, καὶ ψυχῇ, καὶ ῥησιπτή, καὶ ὁσάνοι.
 Δὸς καὶ ἐμοὶ καθαρῶς δοξολογεῖν δέ, πάτερ !

Glory to God most high, Father of all ;
 And to the Son, the universal King ;
 And Spirit, all divine, and ever bless'd.
 The Three one God, who made and fills all things—
 The heavens with spirits and the earth with men.
 The deep, the streams, and fountains all with life :
 By his own Spirit animating all :
 That all things made might praise their wise Creator :
 The only Father of their life and being :
 That creatures rational might celebrate
 The Mighty King, the Father ever good,
 With soul and spirit, tongue and intellect,
 Father, may I sincerely sing this praise.

Hilary has compressed the substance of this doxology into a smaller compass.

Gloria tibi Domine !	Glory be to thee, O Lord !
Gloria unigenito !	Glory to thine only Son,
Cum Spiritu Paraceto !	With the Spirit, Comforter,
Nunc per omne seculum.	Now and evermore.

The Grand Te Deum, ascribed to Ambrose, is the most extensive paraphrase of this part of the ecclesiastical service, which has been transmitted to us from ancient times. It commences with the following truly sublime verses.

Te Deum laudamus ! Te Dominum confitemur :
 Te æternum patrem omnis terra veneratur :
 Tibi omnes angeli, Tibi cœli et universæ potestates,
 Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim, inaccessibili voce proclamant,
 Sanctus ! sanctus ! sanctus ! Dominus Deus Sabaoth !
 Pleni sunt cœli et terra majestatis gloriæ Tuæ.

Thee, O God, we praise ! Thee, O Lord, we acknowledge !
 Thee, the eternal Father, the whole earth venerates :
 To Thee all the angels, to Thee the heavens and universal
 powers,
 To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim, in strains inimitable ex-
 claim,
 Holy ! holy ! holy ! Lord God of Sabaoth !
 The heavens and the earth are full of the majesty of thy
 glory !

This was deemed one of the highest and holiest services of the Church, and Bishops alone at a later period were permitted to use it on Sabbath days and festivals ; except Easter day, when, if no Bishop was present, a Presbyter was allowed to sing it, as it was considered too important a part of the service to be omitted on this solemn occasion. A similar practice prevailed in the Lutheran Church in Saxony in former days, where the general Superintendant, on the three great Festivals introduced the solemnities by singing the Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

Intimately connected with the doxology, and similar in their use among the primitive Christians, were the *Trisagium* and *Hallelujah*. The words of the Τρισάγιον, or Thrice Holy, were taken from the vision of Isaiah, (ch. 6.) “ Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts ; the whole earth is full of his glory ! ” Chrysostom mentions its use as an ancient custom in his day. “ The martyrs participate in our choruses

* Augusti, Denkwürdigkeiten, &c. Vol. V. p. 225.

and mystical songs : for while they were here in the body they took part in the holy mysteries, and sang with Cherubim the song of Thrice Holy." "By which," says Augusti, "he gives us to understand, that the martyrs during their lifetime in company with other Christians sang the Trisagium in the celebration of the mysteries, or Eucharist. But according to his usual practice, as if he had already said too much, he breaks off with the words, "ἵστασι μνηστῆρες—" "the initiated understand." This part of the service, like the doxology, was made during the ancient controversies a test of orthodoxy, and was from time to time modified into accordance with the sentiments of the worshippers. The council of Chalcedon gave the following version: "Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἄγνος ἰσχυρὸς, ὁ γὰρ ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμῶς !" "Holy God, holy Mighty One, holy Eternal, have mercy on us !" A Monophysite Bishop of Antioch added the words, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, and an opposer soon after, retaining the appellation, prefixed to it, χριστὶ βασιλεῖ—"Christ, O King, who wast crucified for us." How often, on what occasions, and in what particular connection these words were sung, we are not informed. The *Hallelujah* was principally used during the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide. Augustine informs us that, "Alleluja etiam in aliis diebus cantatur alibi atque alibi, ipsis autem Quinquaginta diebus ubique"—"the Hallelujah was also sung here and there on other days, but during the fifty days every where." The word is thus illustrated by the same distinguished father : "Our praises are a Hallelujah. But what is a Hallelujah ? It is a Hebrew word : Hallelujah, praise the Lord : Hallelujah, praise God. Let us sing it, and mutually excite each other to praise God ; and thus while we speak with the heart better than with the harp, let us sing Hallelujah, praise to God ; and when we have sung, we retire on account of infirmity to refresh our bodies." Some of the celebrated theologians of the middle ages, as Anselm, Durandus, Alcuin,

and others, finding the word but once in the New-Testament, and nowhere in the Latin or Greek authors, and unacquainted with its Hebrew origin, supposed it to be immediately revealed from heaven as a peculiar gift to the New-Testament Church. "From Rev. 19. we know," says Bona, "that this canticum Hallelujah has descended from heaven into the new Church of Christ." Isidore of Spain deemed it too sacred to be translated into any other language. It was not always however deemed too sacred for secular purposes. It was taught and sung as a lullaby to infants in the cradle, used as a watchword in the camp and a war cry on the field of battle, and employed by the Romans in their formula of their judicial oath: "Truly as I hope to hear and to sing the Hallelujah." More appropriate was the use of it made by the inhabitants of Bethlehem, according to Jerome's charming description. "In the village of Christ all is rural, (*rusticitas*.) Silence reigns throughout, except the singing of psalms. Wherever you turn, the ploughman at his work chants a Hallelujah. The sweating reaper alleviates his toil with psalms; and the keeper of the vineyard, pruning his vines, sings some of David's notes—*aliquid Davidicum*. These are the hymns—these are what are called the amatory songs used in this region." Even the sailor introduced the sacred word into his boat song, and chanted Hallelujah while tugging at the oar.

Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum,
 Responsantibus *Hallelujah* ripis,
 Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma,
 Sic, sic psallite nauta et viator.*

The chorus hence of bending oarsmen,
 The shores re-echoing Hallelujah,
 To Christ address the mariner's song.
 Thus sing, O sailor, thus, O traveller!

* Sidonius Appollinaris, Ep. Lib. II. ep. 10

Among the authorities consulted, we find no notice of any thing like a Psalm-book, or collection of Church poetry, earlier than the council of Laodicea, (An. 370,) at which the following Canon was enacted: "The Canonical Cantors, or choristers alone, who stand on an elevated place in the Church, shall sing the psalms, from the parchments lying before them."* The precise meaning and object of this Canon are not obvious; and it has accordingly been variously interpreted. Whether the Choristers, in their elevated desks, were required to perform the entire musical service of the Church to the exclusion of the congregation, to avoid the discord often heard in a promiscuous assembly, as is sometimes done by the choirs in modern days; or whether they were merely to select the tunes and lead the music, the congregation accompanying as well as they could, according to the general practice of our own times, seems undecided by the ambiguous expression of the Canon. The latter however is most probable, as the universal practice of the primitive Church made it the duty and the privilege of the whole Church, and not merely of a few select artists, to sing the praises of God their Saviour in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. The choristers were required to occupy a conspicuous station, and sing, ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦς—from the parchments—then the common material of books. Hence the order was equivalent to requiring them to sing the words from the book lying before them, and not from memory, as they would be liable to errors and inaccuracies. But no description of the book or parchment however is furnished, and we are left to form our opinions from conjecture, or content ourselves without an opinion on the subject. An obscure expression of Socrates, an early historian of the Church, has been thought to refer to this subject. The Arians had made great efforts to ren-

* Pertch's Kirchen Historie Cent. 4. Pt. 2. 102.

der their sentiments popular, by solemn processions, and singing Antiphonal, or responsive hymns, in which their plausible sentiments were garnished in all the charms of poetry and music, (ὡδὰς ἀντιφωνοῦς πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειάνην δόξαν συντιθέντες.) Chrysostom, then Bishop of Constantinople, sought to counteract their influence, not by legislative enactments, and synodical decrees, but by investing the orthodox services with the same popular attractions. In this work he was assisted by a eunuch of the Imperial Court, ὁ συγχοῦτων τοῖς τότε ὑμνοδοῦς—"which words," says Augusti, "if they do not imply the composition of hymns, must be understood of the preparation of a collection." But this interpretation appears to us doubtful. Is not ὑμνοδοῦς used by dialectic variation, or mistake in transcribing, instead of the more common ὑμνωδοὺς;* and if so, will not the more natural interpretation be—"who organized the singers" into choirs or divisions for the more attractive performance of the sacred antiphonies?

Of the Hymnology of the Latin Church nothing is known earlier than the days of Hilary, and Ambrose, of whose poetical pieces a few authentic specimens remain. "In the mean time," says Hilary, "I have sent you the *morning* and *evening Hymns*, that you may always remember me. But if, on account of your age, you are unable to understand the hymns and the letter, ask your mother, who desires that you should be born to God, and renewed in your moral character, to explain them. That God, who created you, may guard and keep you, here and through eternity, is my prayer, beloved daughter." Other pieces in the modern collections bear the name of this Father; but none bear credentials of genuineness so satisfactory as the *Morning Hymn*, beginning, *Lucis largitor splendide*, &c., and the *Hymnus*

* Jones and Schneider omit ὑμνοδοὺς entirely: ὑμνωδοὺς Jones translates, "hymn-singer, musical virgins:" Schneider, "Lieder-sänger"—hymn-singer.

serotinus'; Ad coeli clara, &c. In the department of Church music, no ancient author has acquired so much celebrity as Ambrose; more perhaps by his introduction of the Oriental responses and alternations, than by the composition of original hymns. The occasion and circumstances of that introduction, are thus related by Augustine,* the personal friend of Ambrose. "Justina, the mother of the Emperor Valentinian, was a zealous Arian, and for a time persecuted Ambrose and his pious flock at Milan, who guarded their holy sanctuary by night, prepared to yield their lives in its defence. To prevent weariness and languor during the long nights of watchfulness, psalms and hymns were sung according to the Oriental mode. (secundum morem Orientalium partium.) It has since been retained; and now (one year after,) is imitated in many, yea, in almost all the Churches in other parts of the world." Throughout the Western Churches, it retained the name of Cantus Ambrosianus, and Officium Ambrosianum. He was also distinguished as a composer, and his hymns became the model of all succeeding poets, and are still used in translations in the Lutheran, if not in other Protestant Churches. He wrote, according to his own account, hymns in praise of the Holy Trinity, to defend the Catholic faith from the attacks of the Arians. His name was appended to many hymns composed in later ages, and some are still found in the Catholic Breviaries, thus unjustly ascribed to him. The genuineness of the grand Te Deum, which was said to have been composed on occasion of the baptism of Augustine, and from which an extract has already been given, has been questioned on the ground that it is not mentioned by Augustine, nor by Possidius, the biographer of Ambrose. A considerable number still extant are known to be his, though probably all have undergone more or less variation in the hands of successive revisers. Of the hymns of Prudentius, the Breviaries have adopted four-

* Confessionum Liber IX. Cap. 7.

teen, several of which have been highly esteemed; especially a Funeral Hymn, which was long in common use among the Protestants in Germany, both in the original, and in a translation, beginning, “Hört auf mit Trauren und Klagen.” In the mass of Latin poetry, used in the Ecclesiastical services of modern times, there is much that is excellent both in matter and manner—*multas veras et pias sententias, eleganti et erudita brevitate comprehensas**—but deeply imbued with superstition. Herder, overlooking all imperfections and errors, characterizes it in the following glowing language:†

“An effusion of inspiration, lyrical fulness, and lofty jubilant strains pervade the whole in such a degree, that if we did not know the fact, we should strongly feel, that such a combination was not the work of an individual, but the collected treasure of nations and centuries in various climates and different situations. Christianity indeed has a higher object, than to create poets, and its first preachers were by no means endowed with the genius of poetry. Their hymns therefore made no pretensions to the elegance of classical expression, the charms of sensibility, nor indeed to any of the peculiar characteristics of the poetic art; for they were not composed for the diversion of idle hours. But who can deny that they possess power deeply to impress the heart? Those holy hymns, which have lived through centuries, and in every application are still new and entire in their influence—what benefactors have they been to afflicted human nature! They retired with the hermit to his cell—with the oppressed in his grief, in his want, to his grave. While singing them, he forgot his woes; the languid sorrowful spirit caught an impulse that raised it into another world, to the joys of heaven. He returned to the earth invigorated, went forward, suffered, endured, exerted himself in silence

* Chemnitius—Exam. Concil. Trident. &c.

† Briefen zur Beförderung Humanität.

and overcame. What can secure such a reward, or produce such an effect as these hymns? Or when, sung in the sacred choir, they took deep hold of the dissipated, and enveloped him in thick clouds of amazement—when, under the gloomy dome, accompanied by the deep tones of the bell, and the penetrating notes of the organ, they announced the judgment of God upon the oppressor, or the power of the Judge to the secret criminal—when they united the high and the low, and brought them together upon their knees, and impressed eternity upon their souls—what philosophy, what trifling songs of merriment or folly have produced such effects, or ever can produce them! I would not deny that even the language of the monks in the middle ages had much that was affecting of this kind. I have seen elegies and hymns in the miserable dialect of these monks, that I really knew not how to translate. They possess something so solemn, so devotional, or so gloomy and tenderly pensive, as to penetrate directly to the heart. Scarcely can a man be found whose heart has not been affected by the moving tones of the hymn of Prudentius—*Jam moesta quiesca, &c.*, or penetrated with horror at the death song—*Dies iræ, &c.*, and whom many other hymns of various character, as—*Veni redemptor gentium—Vexilla regis prodeunt—Salvete flores Martyrum—Pange lingua gloriosi, &c.* have not transported each into its peculiar spirit and tone, and subdued with all its ecclesiastical peculiarities into submissive acquiescence. In one we hear only the voice of the suppliant, another admits the accompaniment of the harp; in others the trumpet resounds, or the deeper organ with its thousand tones.”

The ancient Hymnology is different from the modern in being more exclusively devotional. Their composers seem never to have forgotten that God was the grand object of worship, and that their praises, as well as their prayers, could only be appropriate when directly addressed to him. The primitive Church acknowledged no sacred songs but those sung to the praise of God, the glory of his perfections, the

kindness of his condescension, the goodness of his Providential care, the work of Redemption—the glories and works of the Redeemer, the influences of the Holy Spirit, and the faith and hopes of the pious. Their psalmody, in so far as it was composed of the Biblical psalms, corresponded of course substantially with ours; but their hymns were made more directly the expression of their feelings of reverence, gratitude and devotion. Hence the hymn was always deemed the most solemn act of worship. It was not the voice of an individual confessing his sins and praying for pardon, or giving thanks for mercies enjoyed; it was not the language of a minister standing in the holy place, and offering prayers and thanksgivings in the name of the Church; but it was the Church itself uttering in symphonic concert the deep toned expressions of gratitude, or the ardent aspirations of prayer, awakening and expressing the strongest emotions, and the holiest affections of which the human mind is capable. It was to them, what it always ought to be, as an echo from the world of glorified spirits, and a prelibation of their glorious work—a stammering, a beginning of the “new song before the throne,” in which they anticipated spending a blissful eternity. Gregory Nazianzen, one of the earliest and best of the Grecian Hymnologists, expresses his views of the nature of a hymn in these terms :

Ἐπαινος ἐστὶν οὖν τι τῶν ἐμῶν φράσαι,
 Αἶνος δ' ἔπαινος εἰς Θεὸν σεβάσμιος,
 Ὅ δ' ὕμνος, αἶνος ἐμμελής, ὡς οἶμαι.

It is praise to utter my own emotions,
 And thanksgiving is reverent praise to God,
 And the hymn, I consider, melodious thanksgiving.

Chrysostom exhibits the same exalted view of the character of the genuine hymn : οἱ ψαλμοὶ πάντα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὕμνοι πάλιν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον. “The psalms embrace all subjects, but the hymns on the contrary none merely human.” How differ-

ent the character of many admired pieces, which have found a place in our modern hymn-books ; in which there is nothing but what is *human*, mere addresses to men, to saints, to sinners, exhortations to penitence, faith, or good works, without an intimation adapted to elevate the thoughts to higher and holier objects, to God, to heaven. While the pagan hymns were addressed to their imaginary deities, “we,” says Origen,* “only sing hymns to him who is called God over all, and his only begotten Son, the Word and God ; and we celebrate the praise (ὑμνοῦμεν) of God and his only Begotten, even as do the sun, and moon, and stars, and all the heavenly host ; for all these being a divine chorus, with the righteous among men, sing praises to God over all, and his only begotten Son.” “And finally,” says another ancient writer,† “who does not know, that the Scriptures represent Christ as God and man ; and all the psalms and songs composed by believing brethren from the beginning, celebrate with divine honours (ὑμνοῦσι θεολογούντες) Christ the Word of God.” Thus were the primitive hymns enriched with the treasures of doctrinal truth ; and the faith and piety of the worshippers ; nourished by them into all that vigour and elevation which enabled them to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, to stem the torrent of an opposing world, and seal their testimony to the truth of God with their blood and their lives. May the same spirit fill the hearts of future composers, and the same measure of faith and devotion animate the bosoms of all who sing the songs of Zion.

* Contra Celsum Lib. VIII. c. 67.

† Quoted in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. c. 28. The word θεολογούντες as used by the primitive Christians in reference to Christ always means reckoning, or celebrating as Divine, as God. Hence also Θεολογία was used for the doctrine of the divinity of Christ ; and Gregory Nazianzen was honoured with the title of ὁ Θεολόγος for his zeal and fidelity in maintaining this doctrine,

EXAMINATION OF THE REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY ;

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In the third number of the new series of your Work, dated July, 1829, I have met with a piece, on the General Assembly's Board of Education, and the American Education Society, which has deeply interested my feelings. Whoever the writer of that piece may be, I take the liberty to tender him my most sincere and hearty thanks for the very valuable considerations which he has suggested, at the commencement of his Strictures, respecting the present aspect of the moral and religious world, and the duties and obligations of Christians which result from it. I do most entirely concur with all his remarks, respecting the past failure of the churches to perform their duty in regard to spreading the knowledge of the Gospel abroad ; and in regard to their error in seeking, at any time, to sustain themselves by leaning on the arm of civil power. For one, I rejoice that God has taught them so instructive lessons on this subject ; for we may now venture to hope, in this country at least, that she will not again seek for help from a quarter which will never afford it ; and which, if at any time it condescends to put on the appearance of affording it, exacts more as a return for its favours, than conscience can allow, or the interests of religion permit without injury.

The picture of the religious wants of our country ; the calls for pastoral labours, from thousands of places that are destitute of the word of life ; the interest which Christians are taking in this subject ; the importance of *immediately* furnishing our new settlements with faithful spiritual guides ; the necessity of having these well instructed and disciplined for their great work : and the imperious duty of all Christians, who are praying the Lord of the harvest to

send forth more laborers, to be active in furnishing all the means of training up such laborers; are drawn, described, and urged in a manner which satisfies the most ardent feelings and wishes of my heart. I fully concur with the writer, also, in the directions which he gives, as to the manner in which our spiritual wants are to be supplied. It is true that our first duty is, to raise our humble and earnest cries to the Great Lord of the harvest, that he would multiply the number of laborers; and equally true, that the Christian church is under the highest obligations, while she prays for this, to do all in her power to promote it, by taking pious and indigent youth under her care, and providing for their education in an adequate manner.

With the writer I do also sympathize most entirely, on the subject of beneficed livings in the church. If a graceless ministry is to be raised up; if the church is to be thronged with aspirants after her favours, whose hearts are rankling with enmity at the strictness of her principles, and filled to overflowing with insatiable desires after worldly and sensual pleasures; then let her provide livings which will afford the means of ease and luxury. She will thus hold up a premium to men of secular views who are desirous of enjoying these; and will never fail to have at least as many ministers, as she has benefices to bestow upon them.

In view of the deadly evil which such a course has occasioned in other countries, it seems to be the plain duty of all sincere Christians in ours, to pray that the clergy may always continue to have very moderate incomes; to see to it that they never can become rich; at least never become so, by means of what the church bestows upon them in the way of salary. In respect to the usefulness of ministers of the Gospel, I can truly say, that their poverty appears to be great matter of congratulation. None but the most prejudiced and bigoted opposers of religion can now accuse them of selfish and pecuniary views, in choosing the ministry for a profession. There is scarcely a salary in this country, at least among the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, which could be the object of ambition to any man of a worldly spirit, and of talents above mediocrity.

It would give me much pleasure if I could proceed through the whole piece, on which I have commenced making remarks, and find nothing which I could not sincerely

commend, and with which I do not fully agree. But when the writer comes to make his remarks on the principles and proceedings of the A. E. Society, I am constrained to differ from him, and to cherish views materially diverse from those which he has disclosed.

I take it for granted, that a man of such an able mind and excellent spirit, as is developed in that part of the piece on which I have been remarking, will very readily concede to others the liberty which he has himself taken in the free remarks which he has made on the principles and proceedings of the A. E. Society. He will cheerfully grant me the privilege of examining the facts and principles which he has brought forward, by way of supporting his objections to the Society in question; first, because he himself wishes only to come at a correct view of the whole ground, and to know what can be said in its defence, as well as against it; and, secondly, because the public, who have now had one side of the question placed before them, are entitled to know what answer the friends of the A. E. Society have to make to the allegations there produced against their measures.

I enter with much reluctance on this task. It is always unpleasant to entertain, or to express differences of opinion, when these differences have respect to men for whom we cherish a high and Christian regard. It is an unwelcome task, also, to come before the Christian public in a kind of polemic attitude. Many Christians shrink instinctively from every thing which looks like dispute. The world are very ready to speak with exultation, on what they are pleased to call the *quarrels* of the church. Distrust, unkind feeling, alienation, coldness, or suspicion, are very apt to creep in, while the professed disciples of Christ are engaged in discussion, (not to say *dispute*;) and especially is this the case, when discussion grows animated, and the cause stands committed before the world.

On all these accounts, I advance to the task before me with undissembled reluctance; fearing lest the declaration of opposing sentiments, or the correction of mistaken facts, may possibly be understood by some as an exhibition of feelings which are unfriendly, or as a manifestation of party spirit, which, reckless of truth, or union, or peace, seeks to defend its own views at all adventures.

I cast myself, therefore, after these remarks, on the generosity of the writer in question, and that of his friends who sympathize with him; trusting, that while I endeavour strictly and faithfully to examine the allegations made respecting the A. E. Society, they will not do me the injustice to believe, that I have any *personal* motives in view, or am seeking the interests of any supposed party in that quarter of the country to which I belong.

I am indeed, a friend of the A. E. Society; and I have been so from its very rise. But it is not because I have been in any way connected with it, or have ever received, or expect to receive, any direct benefit from it; nor am I in any way responsible for its measures.

It is true, that having lived near the centre of the Society's operations, and having an intimate acquaintance with all who are actually concerned in the immediate and principal management of its interests, I have been, from the very first, acquainted with its principles, measures, and proceedings. From a sincere approbation of these, I can subscribe most heartily to the noble and generous concession, which the Reviewer of their proceedings makes, page 354, and which I beg permission here to quote.

"We admit, that there is something very magnanimous and captivating in the idea of a great Society, laying aside sectarian names, collecting and disbursing funds in educating pious indigent young men for the Gospel ministry, regardless of sect or party. We admit the energy and success of the A. E. Society, that it has done more in exploring the wants of our country, in enlightening public sentiment on this subject, in pressing home on the consciences of Christians, the indispensable duty of engaging heart and hand in this mighty work, than has been done by all others. With unqualified pleasure, we admit also, that the concerns of this Society are managed by men in whose intelligence, piety, and energy, we have the highest confidence."

Agreeing most fully with this writer, in his views of the men to whom the management of the A. E. Society is entrusted; and cherishing these views, after having for a score of years been intimately acquainted with almost all of them, and with the remainder ever since they have come upon the stage of action; I acknowledge that it is not without some degree of pain and reluctance, that I perceive the measures

they have taken are virtually called in question, and our country is warned against the dangers to which they are thought to be exposing it.

But it becomes their friends, and therefore myself among them, to examine the charges preferred against their principles and proceedings with impartiality, and to listen to every sober and friendly suggestion which may be made by any, who are disposed to call in question the wisdom or the correctness of their measures.

I have endeavoured to do this. The result I beg leave to communicate in the following order; viz.

I. I shall examine the *facts* alleged, in regard to the measures and principles of the A. E. Society.

II. I shall make some remarks on the *fears* which are expressed with respect to it. And,

III. I shall briefly consider the *method* which the Reviewer has chosen, in order to accomplish his object.

In examining the *facts* alleged by the Reviewer, I shall proceed in the order in which he has presented them. It is my design to leave no material circumstance out of view; for on a question of so great importance as the present, the public are entitled to information minute and circumstantial enough to lead them fully to make up their opinions.

The first allegation of the Reviewer is, that "the details of the expenses and receipts of clothing, of books, of donations from other societies and friends, of profits of teaching and labour, of debts contracted and paid, which young men under the patronage of the Society are required to make every quarter, are unnecessarily and painfully minute," p. 356. The chief grounds of this objection are, "that the plan holds out a powerful temptation to the beneficiary, to conceal the amount of receipts and expences, so as to form a stronger claim on the aid of the Society;" and that "it places him in the attitude of a common beggar, whose success depends on the dolefulness of his story." "Young men of delicate and ingenuous feelings," it is averred, "shrink from this public developement of private and personal circumstances," p. 356.

On this subject, I would remark, that the detail required of beneficiaries in Academies and Colleges, and which are in some respects more minute than those required of theological Students, may be summed up in general, under the

following heads, viz. Stage of study ; number of weeks engaged in study during the quarter ; price of board, with its amount ; tuition ; expenses for washing, room, fuel, lights, and also for books and stationary ; incidental expenses ; debts at the beginning of the quarter, exclusive of those due to the A. E. Society ; receipts from the Society during the quarter ; receipts from any other source, either of money, or of clothes or books ; the number of weeks in which the beneficiary has been engaged in teaching school during the quarter, with the receipts for the same ; receipts for labour in any other way ; together with a general summary, at the close, of the whole debts due, exclusive of those due to the A. E. Society. The applicant subscribes, also, a declaration of his intention to devote his life to the ministry of the Gospel, and he asserts that he solicits patronage for this end.

Printed schedules of all the items are furnished for the use of the beneficiary, who makes his returns under each head. This is handed by him to the Principal of the Academy or College with which he is connected, who examines it as minutely as he pleases ; then certifies his belief as to the correctness of it. In addition to this, he certifies that the beneficiary in question sustains, in all respects, such a character as is required by the Constitution and Rules of the A. E. Society, in order to receive their aid. This is forwarded every quarter to the directors of the Society ; and on these is predicated their vote in relation to the aid that is sought for. Where the distance of the School or College is very great, however, it is forwarded only once in six months.

Such are the *facts*, in relation to the details in question. Let me now make some remarks on these facts, and the proper tendency of them.

1. It is obvious, that as the Society is called upon to aid those *who stand in need of aid*, and as it was instituted solely for this purpose ; so it can, with fidelity to its trust, bestow aid only on such as afford *adequate and satisfactory evidence of such need*. But how is this evidence to be obtained ? The answer is, By a knowledge of the character and entire pecuniary circumstances of the individuals who apply for aid. If they are themselves indigent, but have friends able to assist them, and liberal enough to do it ;

if they are able to obtain money enough to help themselves, by any personal efforts which they can make at labour or otherwise, consistently with honesty and integrity of character; then they do not need the aid of the Society. On the other hand, if they are in debt; if they have no friends of the character described; if they fail in the means of aiding themselves in an adequate manner; then it is plain, that they need the assistance of the Society. If moreover, they are prodigal, or excessive in their expenses for clothing, in the purchase of books, in their incidental expenses, or in their room rents, or in any thing of the like nature, it is the proper business of the Society to know this. It is impossible to judge whether they are the *deserving* subjects of aid, unless all these facts are examined.

I would ask the Reviewer to point out a single article in the Schedule of the student's returns, which is not concerned with an estimate either of his *pecuniary condition* or of his *character*. If this cannot be done, (and I venture to say it cannot,) then does it follow, of course, that the Society have only taken means for information, which their duty and fidelity to their trust oblige them to take. There is not a single item here, which any honest and ingenuous youth should ever be ashamed or afraid to disclose. That he is poor, is no ground of reproach. I had almost said, it is the contrary. That the whole extent of his indigence should be known to those who are to aid him, is a matter of as plain equity and propriety, as that a man who borrows money of his friend, should not conceal from him his true pecuniary condition. The most open, honest, and ingenuous proceeding, in all such cases, is to keep nothing back which can throw any light on the real circumstances of the case. The Reviewer thinks that the Committee of examination, or the teachers under whose inspection the youth are, could judge of these matters with sufficient accuracy. But without attempting to show that the same amount of information never could be obtained in this manner, with uniformity and correctness; it may be asked, if it be not incumbent on those whom the community have made *responsible* for the distribution of funds, to know and judge for themselves, as far as they may, whether those whom they aid are in real need of assistance? Upon the present plan, both Instructors and Directors are supplied with the

means of forming an opinion on this subject ; dispense with it, and there is no certainty that either will be regularly and thoroughly made acquainted with the facts, upon which such an opinion should rest.

2. Returns of such a nature as those in question, are of serious benefit to the individuals concerned.

Need it be proved anew to the world, that the virtues of industry, frugality, regularity of life, and caution as to unnecessary and injudicious expenses, are best taught in a *practical* way ? What can all the preaching in the world do at Colleges, Academies, or any where else, while young men and boys have their pockets filled with money which is at their own disposal ? The most weighty and well enforced precepts, the most attractive examples, exert but little influence in such cases. Every Instructor in any Seminary of learning in our country, will confirm this statement.

What then is to be done ? What measures will effectually teach young men to enter on life, with frugality, with industry, with a judicious and uniform foresight in regard to all their pecuniary responsibilities and embarrassments ? I answer ; Let them set out from the very first, as soon as they are able to take care of themselves, with a responsibility for doing so ; with a responsibility too, which will amount to something ; which will be felt in all their measures, and will have a controlling influence over them so as to make them guarded, and sober. The responsibility to parents of most young men educated in public, for the manner in which they spend money and time, is but little felt, and is in most cases made so light, as to afford no serious obstacle in the way of their extravagance and profusion. A town or two when bills are presented, which are large beyond propriety ; a murmur at the unexpected amount of them, and a kind of half serious, half joking complaint of extravagance ; constitute the weight of the penalty on the part of the parents, which most youth have actually to suffer for extravagance and idleness : and the responsibility to a tribunal which inflicts only such a punishment, is but little dreaded, and has therefore but little influence on such as are disposed to be extravagant.

How different the condition of a youth, whose character, whose prospects, whose success, whose all, depends on the strictness of his discipline, and the rigid watch which he

keeps over all his powers and passions of body and mind ! I appeal to *facts*. From what class of youth do our most shining characters in church and State spring ? From the children of the rich, or of the poor ? Almost exclusively from the latter. Debauchees, and profligates, and block-heads abound among the children of the rich ; while among the poor in our Seminaries, characters of this sort are far more rare.

I have been intimately connected with the instruction of youth, for more than thirty years ; and I have very often been led to believe, that the greatest misfortune which can befall a youth endowed by nature with promising talents, is, that his parents should be rich. The failure in some respect or other, as to the requisite strictness of discipline in such a case, is almost certain, in a great majority of instances. But the beneficiary of the A. E. Society has a powerful stimulus acting constantly upon him, and operating to produce habits of sobriety, and frugality, and industry ; habits on which depend, in a great measure, his prospects of usefulness and success in life.

I feel the more certain of all this, because, of the numerous young men aided by benevolent Societies with whom I have been intimately acquainted I have observed some, who have been aided only in the way which the Reviewer would prefer, that have evidently been injured as to their habits of economy and feeling. With the conviction that the treasury of their benefactors would not be closed against them, unless they should exhibit some palpable acts of extravagance, they have felt that a nice attention to frugality was unnecessary. The fact also that they had been taken up as it were in their infancy, and dandled in the lap of more than parental kindness, contributed to inspire them with exalted ideas of their own talents and deserts. They did not seem to me so much to accept of charity in the way of a gratuity, as to claim it as a debt. Nay, one might well say, who knew the whole developement of their feelings, that they regarded the church as *debtors* to them on account of their high importance to her, and of their elevated worth ; and that they really deemed it a matter of condescension on their part, to accept of what was gratuitously proffered to them.

Yes, I have seen this : and my soul has sickened at the

sight. The blasting influence of such a state of feeling on the Christian character of youth intended for the ministry, is self-evident; and it is my heart's desire and prayer to God, that the Church may keep as clear from presenting such a temptation, as the accomplishment of the great ends which she has in view will permit her to do.

It is plain beyond all doubt, that young men who are to be ministers of the Gospel need to be educated in habits of frugality; in which condition, it is absolutely certain that their salary, in any ordinary case, will never be adequate without the strictest economy, to their wants. How many pastors are every year dismissed, how many inflict deep distresses on themselves, and on their families, for want of early discipline like that which the A. E. Society requires, unhappy experience daily testifies. It is my full belief, that the Alumni of the A. E. Society will present fewer cases of such melancholy facts, than have heretofore been usual.

I am aware of the objection which has been made, and which the Reviewer hints at under another head, viz. that a mode of educating young men subjected to so many restraints, will make them niggardly and covetous. But I am not prepared to believe, that attention to frugality, and industry; strict attention to all one's pecuniary responsibilities and expenditures, so necessary in all the business of life, and so much applauded by all men; can have any proper tendency towards the vices of covetousness and pusillanimity. Beyond a few instances in which men love money merely for its own sake, covetousness, rapacity, extortion, and niggardliness, belong mostly to those who are greedy to obtain something to lay out on the means of sensual pleasure or of gratifying some ambitious desire. In a word, I confess myself exceedingly slow to believe, that the God of nature has so formed us, that the insisting on the practice of certain virtues, should in itself have a tendency to lead to certain vices. Facts disprove this. Of all the classes of men in society, I know of none more liberal, more kind, more generous hearted in proportion to their means, than such as have been the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society. Nay, I can say more; I can say that their purses, light as they are, with scarcely sufficient to pay their letter postages, and to purchase enough of stationery to write to their friends, are opened to the calls of charity and religion; and the simple mites

bestowed with such views and such a spirit, I trust will prove to be, in the Saviour's estimation, like the widow's mite cast into the treasury of God in the view of the astonished disciples.

3. I must add to the considerations already suggested, that an accountability like the one in question, is absolutely necessary to secure the confidence of the community, and particularly of men of business, who are accustomed to responsibilities.

The experience of the A. E. Society determines, that those who are able and willing to give, will not do so to any great extent, and certainly will not continue to do so for any length of time, unless a high responsibility is created on the part of those who are to receive their bounty.

The allegation of the Reviewer against such a measure, is the first and only serious one of this kind, which the Directors have ever heard. With one consent, the community, so far as I have any knowledge, have applauded their measures on this point. Nay, of the hundreds of young men on their list, no one has as yet, so far as they know, ever raised his voice against the measure, or made complaint of its oppressive nature. So far have they been from this, that they have often testified their most hearty concurrence and approbation.

If the A. E. Society are wrong, then, in respect to the measure in question, the whole community, givers and receivers, are wrong along with them. All men of business, especially, are fundamentally in error; for it is from these in particular, that the high and imperative demand has come, that the Society should create the utmost responsibility which is fairly in its power. They demand all the security which from the nature of the case can be afforded, that their bounty will not be squandered or misapplied. That they are in the right, I do most heartily believe; and that the American public will justify this view of the subject, and support it, I am fully persuaded.

4. I may remark, in the last place, that the Schedule of returns under discussion, is very important to the Directors of the A. E. Society, in as much as it furnishes them with a large number of *facts*, which must serve as the basis of many of their calculations and their measures.

The average amounts of expenses are made out from such

statements. The probable and possible means of helping themselves by labour, or otherwise which young men possess, comes in this way to be known. The comparative expenses in different parts of the country are developed. In this way the Directors come to the knowledge of facts, which serve to meet assertions like that of the Reviewer, when he says, that "the aid afforded by the A. E. Society is not sufficient to pay half the expense of an education in the cheapest College in the United States." The answer to this is, that it does not comport with *facts* thus disclosed.

I must not quit the topic under discussion, without noticing the two great difficulties which the Reviewer suggests, as standing in the way of the requisitions in question.

In his view, "The plan holds out a powerful temptation to conceal the amount of receipts and expenses, so as to form a stronger claim on the aid of the Society; placing the beneficiary in the attitude of a common beggar, whose success depends on the dolefulness of his story." p. 356.

But how would this evil, (if it be a real one), be cured by a different method of management? If the minuteness and the greatness of the responsibility, expose a beneficiary to the evils here mentioned, then, of course, a diminution in both these respects would relieve the evil. But I have always been accustomed to believe, that minuteness of responsibility, and the greatness and certainty of it, is the highest and most effectual of all means to keep men honest and straight in their business. And I appeal to the whole world for a spontaneous decision on this point, without a single argument upon it; for it certainly needs none. If you wish to tempt men to dishonesty and partial statements of their concerns or their management, hold them at loose ends in their accounts; if not, then create a high responsibility. I am utterly unable to see how the temptation is now any greater to give a false account of expenditures, than it would be under a system of inspection less rigid.

And as to "placing the receiver in the attitude of a common beggar, whose success depends on the dolefulness of his story;" how is this *dolefulness* made any greater or less, by the fact that a man is accountable in regard to more or less of his expenditures? If there be any "hitting the point" here, I am not able to perceive it. Nay, if there be any thing in the revolting idea of "common beggary," which is

applicable to the subject in question ; then let me ask, Who is most like a “*common beggar*?” He who comes with a piteous story of his wants in a lump, without entering, or being able to enter, into any particulars which are in any measure probable, or will bear the least scrutiny ; or he who brings along with him *accredited vouchers* for all his wants and woes, and can *definitely* show how they come to exist, and to be urgent ? The case is too plain to need comment ; and the statement must have escaped from the Reviewer, in a moment when imagination had strong predominance over reflection.

But when the Reviewer proceeds, in connexion with the allegations just examined, to say, that “*young men of delicate and ingenuous feelings shrink from this public developement of private and personal circumstances,*” p. 356 ; he shows a want of information in respect to the subject on which he has commented, that might well have led him to hesitate and examine, before he ventured to speak in this way. And what is the “*public developement*?” Just this ; viz. that the beneficiary goes with his Schedule to one who is or ought to be his most confidential and paternal friend, to the head of the School or College in which he is, and obtains his certificate as to the credibility of the statement ; and this certificate comes before the Directors of the A. E. Society, who are also *in loco parentum*, and who vote of course in accordance with it, unless they have some special ground to suspect that there is collusion or fraud. And is this a “*public developement*?” I know not indeed that the Reviewer meant to convey so much as his words do convey. I understood by them, an intimation that the Schedules of all the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society are published to the world, i. e. that they are a part of the regular documents of the Society which are to be made public. I may be mistaken in my apprehension, but I predict, that thousands in our country will understand it just as I have done ; and if so, may I be pardoned for suggesting, that the Reviewer is accountable for an impression so much *at variance with fact*, and tending to cast odium on the Directors of the A. E. Society, as men wanting in delicacy of feeling, and disposed to be rigid, to an unreasonable degree, in their demands. I trust he will therefore pardon me, and indeed thank me, for making public the correction of such an error. I certainly

do not charge him with any intended error; I acquit him altogether of this. But I must still believe, that when such great interests are concerned as are called in question here, men are bound to know that what they state as facts is correct.

I have one more remark to make on this subject. This is, that *facts* contradict the statement which the Reviewer has made, about the reluctance of young men to submit to the accountability in question. More than 900 young men, educated in 77 Academies, 23 Colleges, and 10 Theological Seminaries; during the last 14 years, have submitted to an inspection of this nature, and for half that period the present Schedule has been in actual existence, and yet it is not known, as I have before said, that any complaints have been made. If the Reviewer has found "more than one young man of unquestionable piety," who declined asking aid of the A. E. Society because of the strictness and minuteness of accountability to which he would be subjected; then I can only say, that his experience differs widely from that stated above. I cannot refrain from adding, too, that if *accountability* will deter any young man from asking aid, it is my earnest hope and wish, that the A. E. Society may never have any beneficiaries of this character. They want such, and only such, as are willing to be open to inspection, and shrink not from every responsibility that is requisite to give confidence to the public and to the world.

I come now to the SECOND OBJECTION of the Reviewer against the measures of the A. E. Society. This is, that the principle of "refunding the monies advanced to young men patronized, is a doubtful, if not a dangerous feature of this Institution," p. 356.

The reasons for this measure he represents as being two, viz: 1. To relieve the beneficiary from the mortification of being considered a charity student. 2. To augment the means and perpetuate the benefits of the Society.

But are these all the reasons? Certainly not. In the eleventh Report of the Society, the Directors say, that "because, after *much experience*, they are convinced that loans will exert a more happy influence upon the *character* of those whom they patronize," they have embarked in this measure. They tell us, that the same experience proves, that more strength of character, more economy, more diligence, more frugality, will be promoted by it. This I do

most fully believe. Nay, from long experience and observation, I might say, I do certainly know it. And if this be correct, it is a very important reason for their measures, which the Reviewer has not at all suggested.

He is mistaken, also, when he speaks of the *loan* as designed to be a "shelter for charity students, from the unmerited reproach often attempted to be cast upon them." The young men in this condition, are now too numerous, and too respectable for worth and for talents, to need any such shelter. The voice of the Church and of the community, is too much in their favour to render it at all necessary. *Disgrace* is out of the question. But *delicacy of feeling* is not out of the question; and to my certain knowledge, many a young man, that would have abandoned his education rather than obtain it by *gratuity*, now has no scruples in receiving a *loan*. And this shows the wisdom of the measure, which the A. E. Society have adopted.*

In regard to the "high ground" which the church should take, in the opinion of the Reviewer, and educate gratuitously all that are needed for the ministry, as our Government educate young men in their naval and military Schools; this is desirable then, and only then, when it becomes *necessary*. The question whether it is *necessary*, is the very one in debate. And if such ground should be prejudicial to the character of beneficiaries, (and experience it is believed has established this fact), then is a different ground preferable, unless it can be shown to be the occasion of formidable evils. The money that would be expended on the wholly *gratuitous* education of young men for the ministry, may now be appropriated to missionary objects, to building up

* The following extract of a letter from the President of one of our Colleges, affords a striking illustration of the truth of the above remark. It is published in the Quarterly Journal of the Society, Vol. 1. p. 32, and relates to the case of a peculiarly needy young man.

"He tells me that he has been repeatedly advised to apply for aid to your Society, but never could so far sacrifice his love of independence as to consent to it. He was, however, from the difficulty of getting along without too much loss of time from his studies, becoming discouraged, and on the point of abandoning the hope of public usefulness. I explained to him the method of *loaning* money now adopted by the Society, as calculated to save the feelings of young men, and advised him to apply. He concludes to do so, and has gone to ———, to procure the required testimonials."

our waste places, to helping our feeble Churches, and to providing for their starving pastors.

The Reviewer does not see the propriety of calling the loan made to beneficiaries, *a parental loan*. He wishes to know what is meant by such a loan; and suggests that obligations, like those demanded by the A. E. Society, are not required from children by their parents, p. 358.

Is it then true, in the first place, that the young men of the Church have the same relation to her, as to *support*, which children have to their parents? If so, then why may not the rich as well as the poor, claim support from her? Indeed the case of the Cadets, which the writer presents, who are supported at the expense of the government, would seem designed to justify this principle; for *all* are equally supported in this case, whether they are rich or poor. Would the Reviewer say, that a Church struggling with poverty, and not adequate to maintain its own pastor; or that an individual in circumstances of indigence, who belongs to any Church; should contribute money or labour to help educate the son of a rich member of the Church? This cannot be done; it ought not to be done. And if it be said, in reply to this, that the rich ought to give the more bountifully in such a case, so as that, in the end, the poor man will be more than compensated for his contribution towards educating the sons of the rich; the answer is, that justice indeed would require this; but how is it to be enforced? Are all professed Christians who are rich, and who may have pious sons, willing voluntarily to contribute in such a way? Facts speak a loud and appalling testimony against such an assumption.

There remains no way then, if the principle of the Reviewer be adopted, but for the Church to *tax* her members, and make out the regular proportion which ought to be paid, and must be paid by them. Any other method than this, can never be just and equitable, provided the *Cadet System*, to which the Reviewer has appealed as affording so noble an example, be adopted by the Church. It is by taxation and by compulsion, that this system is supported. Can the Churches resort to similar measures?

Does not the specious object, then, which seemed to be so attractive while examined at a distance, and in the midst of the shining mist in which it was enveloped, assume a

form entirely different, on near approach and after minute inspection?

The proposal of the Reviewer, I must regard as chimerical and impossible, unless we are to have a religious establishment, supported and rendered compulsory by the civil power. The Reviewer would himself be among the last men, who would desire any thing like this, or who would cease to oppose and resist it.

Things must remain then as they are, in regard to charities. Those who give, must do it VOLUNTARILY; not by assessment, or by compulsion. And while this is the case, it is quite certain that the Church will consent to educate only the indigent part of her sons. These she ought not to educate, I trust she will not, without efforts of their own, and without a high responsibility as to the manner in which they dispose of her bounty, and high and sacred obligations to become what she desires them to be.

The Reviewer thinks it strange, that the loan should be called *parental*. He wishes to know, whether parents lend money to their children; and then, whether in case they do, they demand written obligations of re-payment? The answer to this might be, that it is no new thing for parents to make *loans* to their children; and to insist on it, that they shall be repaid, in case there is ability to do it. I could appeal, in proof of this, to my own experience. I have sons to educate; but I am unable to complete their education, unless the older ones do themselves contribute to assist the younger, I make this a condition of completing their education; and I have no scruples in doing so, although I would hope and trust that I am not deficient in parental tenderness, I even consider it a serious advantage to my children, to be placed under such a responsibility.

Let it be remembered, however, that the property in the hands of the A. E. Society is not *their own*. They are entrusted with the sacred bounties of the Church. They are under the most solemn obligations to see that nothing is squandered, nothing is left insecure. They must, therefore, on the principle of *loaning*, require a *written* security. If the sum in question, in any case, be lost to the Society for want of due care, they are responsible for it. In these respects, therefore, it is far from being fair, to compare their situation with that of a parent.

If it be still asked, Why then call the loan *parental*? The answer is ; Because it is truly so, in some very important respects ; i. e. it is an *accommodating* loan ; it is afforded from mere motives of KINDNESS ; and is very different in regard to the conditions attached to it, from common loans. No interest is required, until a reasonable time after the young man has entered the ministry ; the *only* surety is *his own note* ; and it is further expressly provided by the Directors, "that in case the future condition of those who are patronized by the Society, in consequence of any calamity, or of the service in the Church to which they may be providentially called, or the peculiar situation in which they may be placed, shall in the judgment of this Board be found to be such, as to render it unsuitable for them to be called upon to pay the debt contracted for their education, it shall be understood to be the right and *duty* of the Board, to cancel such debt in whole or in part, whenever they shall judge proper." Eleventh Report, p. 22.

What more now can reasonably be asked, than is here granted ? It will be agreed by all, that such beneficiaries as can repay, ought in justice and in conscience to do it. But how will it be with those, who may be in a state of extreme poverty and dependence ? Why the debt will be cancelled. There is ample provision, express *legal* provision, for this purpose. This must be admitted. What then is the hardship in this case ? There can surely be none, unless the Directors are so lacking in humanity, as to shut their ears against any complaints of indigence and misfortune which their beneficiaries may make. Has this ever been done ? I ask this question fearlessly. I know the Directors too well to have any apprehensions about the answer. Nay, I challenge the whole world to produce an instance, where this imputation justly lies against them.

The oppressive nature of the loan in question, then, is only in *fear*, in *anticipation*, not in *fact*. It is indeed possible, that the Directors may abuse their commission to be compassionate ; it is possible for any man or body of men to abuse any trust committed to them ; but the *probability* of this, in the case now before us, is certainly one of the remotest that can be imagined. And even supposing it actually to take place, there is an appeal from the Directors to the whole Society, composed of members from at least 20 States

in the Union, who can reverse their decisions, and displace them from office.

I have been minute on this part of the subject, because I am aware, that there is an appeal in the representations of the Reviewer, to the *compassion* of the community toward the beneficiaries of the Society. Their case is presented as one, which must bear exceedingly hard upon them, after they are settled in the ministry; and they are made to appeal to our sensibilities, on the score of a family, who are suffering for want of bread, an empty library, an inability to aid the charitable objects of the day, and other things of the like nature. Now all of this has some foundation in reality; but all cases of this nature are actually provided for, as we have seen above, and this, even to the utmost extent which a considerate man can desire. I must believe that the Reviewer had never studied or contemplated the provisions so fully made, when he wrote the paragraphs on which I have now been commenting.

I have one more remark to make on this important part of our subject. This is, that *facts* contradict the theory which the Reviewer has here presented. As a specimen of the many *facts* which lie before the Directors of the A. E. Society, I present the following extract of a letter from one of their beneficiaries.

"Enclosed is — dollars which, added to what I have given the last year, makes the amount of the benefactions I received from your Society. My donations for several years previous, whether more or less, you may regard in the light of *interest*; and in the same light you may regard all my future donations, which I purpose to continue annually, as long as I have any thing to give. My salary is small; and though my family is also small, we have to consult the principles of economy, and to deny ourselves many things, in order to have an agency in the various great departments of Christian charity. Our rule is, *first*, to economise; *secondly*, to give "bountifully," according to the Scripture maxim, 2 Cor. ix: 6; and then, *thirdly*, if we have any thing to spare, to lay it up until the Lord shall call for it;—and we find so much enjoyment in this course, that we shall probably continue it." (Quarterly Register and Journal, Vol. I. p. 28—9.)

This is only a specimen of the manner in which, I trust,

a great part of the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society feel, and will feel. They would be among the last, I verily believe, to propose the giving up of their *obligations* to the Society. And this applies to those who have gone out from Theological Seminaries, and have settled in parishes, and know by experience all the difficulties with which they must struggle, and to which the Reviewer adverts. Testimony from these is worth more than all the theory in the world. The gentleman, whose testimony is cited above, and who holds a conspicuous place among the laborers in the great Missionary cause, is one who has had some of the difficulties to struggle with. Is such experience, now, to be regarded by the Directors of the A. E. Society? Or are they to shape their measures solely by principles deduced from reasoning *a priori*?

In regard to the allegation of the Reviewer, which stands connected with this part of our subject, viz. that "the *loaning* system will tend to create a calculating, craving disposition," I have already remarked upon the subject above. I can only say again, that the cultivation of economical habits, of frugality, and industry, is one of the last things that can ever make misers and niggards. I must have overwhelming evidence to induce me to believe, that the God of nature has so formed us, that the cultivation of virtues necessarily leads to vices.

As a test of the ability and willingness of the A. E. Society's beneficiaries to repay the loan which they have contracted, I would add, that within little more than *two* years (although the system has as yet begun only partially to operate,) more than Two thousand dollars have been cheerfully repaid into the Treasury. So much for the *practicability* of the measure adopted by the A. E. Society.

The Reviewer has suggested, also, under his second objection, that Colleges and Theological Seminaries must likewise aid young men, who are indigent, in obtaining their education; and that, in case they do this, the young men will be utterly unable to discharge their obligations both to the A. E. Society, and to these Institutions.

Suppose this to be true; then it follows that the A. E. Society must abandon their claim, according to the pledge which they have given to the young men and to the world. The Colleges and Theological Seminaries must do the same

in some cases of imperious necessity. But in ordinary cases, a young man of real industry, and good talents, (no others ought to be educated by the funds of the Church), will find ways and means to help himself, so that he need not receive more aid, than it will be safe for him to be obliged to repay. Experience abundantly testifies this. It is well known that some young men, entirely destitute of property, acquire an education without appealing to any society or individual for assistance; and surely it is practicable for young men, situated as are the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society, to do what is required of them.

Besides, means are now used, and the prospect is now opening, for young men to aid themselves by *manual labour*; which is very useful to them both in a physical and intellectual respect. To this source, the Directors of the A. E. Society are anxiously directing young men. Between NINE and TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS have been earned in various ways the past year, by the beneficiaries of the Society. The Reviewer seems to be, and doubtless is, unacquainted with these and the like facts; otherwise he would not reason and assert as he does.

The A. E. Society do not wish to conceal it from the public, that it is a favourite principle with them, to induce so far as in them lies, all their young men to help themselves in every honest and becoming manner, and to the full extent of their ability. The enterprising and intelligent men of our country will certainly justify them in this.

But the Reviewer asks, "What becomes of the monies when refunded?" He then goes on to aver, that they are all returned to the treasury of the parent Society; and that in consequence of such an arrangement, this Society will finally have an unlimited capital at their exclusive control. Add all the loans returned to the permanent funds, and to the scholarships, and he thinks, in half a century "a height of independence must be attained, sufficient to make even good men's heads turn giddy," p. 361. In particular he suggests, that "if all the Presbyterian churches in the United States were to become auxiliary to the A. E. Society, the monies refunded by all their beneficiaries, as well as their annual surplus, must go to the parent Board, and *be entirely beyond the reach of the Branches*," p. 361.

I shall not take the liberty to impute any special design

to the writer, in this appeal. The correctness of the principles and the assertions, on which it is grounded, are proper subjects of examination.

If there be any one thing, which the Directors of the A. E. Society have particularly aimed to accomplish in all their measures with respect to the Society, it is this, viz. that it should be guarded as effectually as possible against a perversion, or monopoly of the funds. In order to effect this, *the ultimate responsibility in all cases, is vested in the General Society.* To them all questions may be referred; and before them, every alleged grievance or perversion be laid, for their final and irreversible decision.

Who then are the men that constitute this General Society? They consist of evangelical clergymen and laymen, throughout the United States. The whole number of members entitled to vote, is, at present, about Three hundred and fifty. These belong to at least Twenty States of the Union; and one hundred and eleven of them are either clergymen or laymen of the Presbyterian church. This church would have had a much greater proportion still, had the A. E. Society originally set out on the same ground on which it now stands. The Society originated in the heart of N. England. For many years, (down so late as 1826), a certain sum of money, given by way of donation, entitled every one to the privilege of voting. The Society was thus at the mercy of any party, whether evangelical or not, that might choose to create members enough at any time, to come in and take entire possession of all its funds. In 1826, the Constitution was changed, and only members *elected* were in future admitted to the privilege of *voting*; although a donation to a certain extent still constitutes *honorary membership*. None *originally* entitled to vote, were excluded from this privilege by the new arrangement. And as to the future, the *Society*, (not the Directors, as the Reviewer seems to understand it), *elect by ballot*, those who are to be members.

Before 1826, when this important change was made, there had been, as will naturally be supposed, many more donations in N. England, which entitled to membership, than elsewhere. In fact, during the first ten years of the existence of the Society, out of one hundred thousand dollars contributed, seventy thousand dollars were given in Massa-

chusetts. This accounts for it, why the number of members of the Society, belonging to the Congregational church is greater than that of any other denomination. And this is the only reason; for since the change in question, 94 members have been elected; and of these, 74 are out of N. England, and only *two* belong to Massachusetts. *Fifty* of the newly elected members belong to the States of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Does this look like local partiality? Or is there any party ambition or purposes, discoverable in this?

I repeat it, in order that neither the Reviewer nor his friends may overlook it; *The Directors neither nominate nor choose any of the elected members of the Society.*

From these plain facts it is very obvious, that the time is not far distant, when the Presbyterian church may have, and in all probability will have, a controlling influence in the A. E. Society. Every act of the Board of Directors is subject to revision, directly or indirectly, by the General Society. Every choice of members and every choice of officers, (who, let it be noted, are elected only for *one year* at a time,) is by the same *Society*. How then can its funds be perverted, or applied to party purposes? Never,—until all branches of the General Society, including evangelical men of at least five denominations, become corrupt throughout. And when such a *universal* corruption takes place, the A. E. Society will at least be as safe as any other Society, whether Presbyterian or not.

Let us now, for a moment, examine in another point of view, the power of the Directors of the Parent Society, which is an object of so much dread. We have seen how entirely their doings are subject to revision by the General Society. Another check is imposed upon them by means of Branch Societies. *All applications for aid, within the limits of Branch Societies, must first be made to these Branch Societies.* The Directors of these appoint a *majority* of the Examiners of such applicants; on whose certificate depends the success of the application. When a favorable certificate is obtained from these Examiners, it is remitted to the Board of the Branch Society first, who receive or reject the application, and make an appropriation. The application is then forwarded to the Board of the Parent Society, for their concurrence. If they think it their

duty to reject the application, they remit the case back to the Branch Society, with their objections. Should a final disagreement take place between the two Boards, the case must come before the General Society at their annual meeting, at which are present members from all parts of the U. States. This has an ultimate jurisdiction over every question of this, or of the like nature.

It is thus, that the two Boards in question serve as a check upon each other; and the General Society has a supervision and ultimate control of the whole. In addition to this, there is an article of the Constitution which expressly provides, that *Presidents of Branch Societies shall be, ex officio, voting members of the General Society, and also honorary members of the Board of Directors*, thereby giving to each Branch Society a perpetual representation of its own selection, in the councils both of the Society and of the Board. Is this aiming at the concentration of power in the hands of the Directors of the Parent Society? Or does it look like a most guarded distribution of power, and a cautious check upon it, not unlike what the structure of our national government exhibits?

‘Are not the Branch Societies, however, dependent on the Parent Society?’ They must, of course, conform all their proceedings to its Constitution and fundamental Rules. But they elect their own officers, from the least to the greatest, and as often as they please; they vote their own appropriations, and dispose of their own funds; they recommend and receive their own candidates. The Parent Board has, indeed, the power of nominating a part of the Examining Committees; but it is a *minority* of them; and this right is retained only for security in regard to the Constitution and Rules, which they are bound to see observed. The Parent Society, except in an extreme case which is provided for, cannot take up a single candidate, within the limits of a Branch Society, without its consent and approbation; while, on the other hand, the concurrence of the Parent Society is necessary, in order that the appropriation may be actually made; unless, indeed, in a case of appeal, the General Society revoke their decision where they may have refused aid.

‘But what control have the Branch Societies over the monies given?’ I answer, that all monies raised within the limits of a Branch Society are paid into its own treasury. If

permanent Scholarships are endowed, the property vests in the Parent Society, because it is an *incorporated* body; but *the income of the said Scholarships stands pledged to the Branch Societies, within whose limits they have been raised*, and is subject to their disposal as stated above. Can the Parent Society adopt a more impartial method of proceeding than this?

Look, moreover, at the operation of this principle. When a Branch Society has more monies in its treasury, than is needed for beneficiaries within its own limits, it remits the overplus to the Treasury of the Parent Society. But on the other hand, if it have less in its Treasury than is needed, (an occurrence that frequently happens,) then it is entitled to draw out of the treasury of the Parent Society, just as though the money were in its own. If this be not generous impartiality, it would be difficult to say what is so, in the management of such matters.

In regard to the Examining Committees whose peculiar province it is to recommend beneficiaries to the A. E. Society, I would state, that at present there are 41 of them in the U. States; of these, 14 only are in N. England, and 27 out of it. And when we call to mind, that a majority of each of these Committees, on whom the appropriation of all monies to beneficiaries depends, are appointed by the respective Branch Societies, in all cases where such Societies exist, this must be proof satisfactory enough to every candid mind, that the Parent Society is not aiming at power and control.

While I am on the subject of the organization and powers of the A. E. Society, and its respective branches, I would state, that the General Society, constituted as above, has recently held its annual meetings, alternately in Boston and New-York, during the week of their respective anniversaries. This arrangement will probably continue, and by means of it, the Society will be brought into the vicinity of a very large part of all the voting members. Should the next meeting be held in the city of New-York, more members will probably be in the city, having a right to vote in the meeting of the A. E. Society, than will compose the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. The meeting for the choice of officers, and for the transaction of special business, is distinct from, and antecedent to, the general meeting when addresses etc. are made, as is customary in other Societies. At this

previous meeting, any business whatever may be taken up ; all proceedings of the Directors may be examined and canvassed ; any objections can be raised, which any member of the Society chooses to raise, either against any part of its proceedings, or of its principles. *No officer whatever is chosen for a longer period than one year at a time ;* and if the Society see fit, every Director, Secretary, Treasurer, or other officer previously appointed, may be displaced, and others substituted in their room. If there be any aim in all this at dictatorship, it is not, at least, to be *perpetual* dictators.

From a review of the Constitution and principles of the Parent and Branch Societies, it seems to me quite impossible, that any partial or party appropriations of monies should be made by the Directors of the Parent Society, without a speedy and adequate accountableness and punishment for so doing. The General Society at its annual meeting, coming from all parts of the U. States, must be an *impartial* body ; and in their hands are Directors, Secretaries, Treasurers, Examiners, funds, and every thing else. Can an imagination which is not heated, see any phantoms of a frightful aspect rising up out of such ground as this ?

To the important question, "What becomes of the monies refunded ?" We may answer, then, that they go into the treasury of the Parent Society, for the present, and are paid out from this to all the Branch Societies in the U. States, according to their respective wants. They must ever continue to be so appropriated, until the General Society cease to do their duty at their annual meeting ; and until all parts of our country become heretical and corrupt.

If, for the sake of convenience, however, the General Society should adopt a plan, which would allow the monies *returned* within the limits of each Branch Society, to be paid into the treasury of such Society, this measure would remove even the semblance of the difficulty which the Reviewer suggests. The Directors, I have no doubt, will be disposed to adopt this, or any other arrangement which may promote the interests of the Society.

In thus detailing the Constitution and principles of the A. E. Society, I trust that I have obviated most of the difficulties which the Reviewer suggests under his,

THIRD HEAD OF OBJECTIONS. The substance of this

head is, that the *voting* members of the Society are *eligible* to office; and that their election must depend on the Directors of the Parent Society; that such an arrangement is giving them a power to perpetuate their own office, and their own control over an immense sum of money, which may be appropriated to purposes destructive to the welfare of the church. And this organization is represented to be such, that "the hand of an infant in Boston can control and manage and direct the whole Christian community, South and West of the Connecticut, interested in this concern," p. 364.

The answer to all this is found in the preceding statement. It is built on misapprehension of the Constitution and Rules of the A. E. Society. The Directors as such, have no control at all over the election of any new members of the Society, nor over the number who shall be chosen. They have not even a nomination of such members confided to them; and should they undertake to make one, any other member of the Society has an equal right, and I may add, an equal chance of success. After such a view as has been given above, of the manner in which *membership* and the *right of voting* in the Society, are now constituted, and of the number of members, their partition among different denominations of Christians, and their diffusion among 20 States of the Union; can it well be supposed, that any man of candour will say, that the fears of the Reviewer are well grounded? Is there no check here? Are there no honest men, among all these members of the A. E. Society, chosen from leading men in church and state in our country; no independent men there, who cannot be flattered or misled by any electioneering of the Directors? And are there not men enough among the present members of the Society, of sufficient prudence, and integrity, to secure the interests of the Society in future, by the choice of members like themselves? To deny either of these, would be one of the last things which I would venture to do.

On serious revision of what the Reviewer has intimated, with respect to this subject, I do hope and believe, that he will withdraw even an implied insinuation of such a nature. Representations of this kind may, indeed, be a forcible appeal to the jealousies of men, and of parties; but they must be distressing to those who look seriously at the tendency of them to shake the confidence of the Christian community,

and to fill them with groundless alarm ; and of course, to quench their zeal in behalf of the A. E. Society.

I have thus examined the *facts* alleged by the Reviewer, as grounds of distrust and fear, in regard to the A. E. Society. I know I am in danger of protracting the subject too much ; but the importance of the discussion induces me to cast myself on the patience of the public, until I make a still further developement of the proceedings of this Society, in regard to *loans* and *permanent funds*, which may serve to vindicate them in the view of the world.

Originally, the A. E. Society appropriated their monies in the method advocated by the Reviewer. They made the whole a pure gratuity. They even adopted the principle of paying the *bills* of their beneficiaries. Soon, however, experience showed the improvidence of this measure. They then adopted the method of requiring a note from the beneficiary, to repay *one half*. This took place in 1820, and was continued until 1826.

Before this principle was adopted, in 1826, of *loaning* wholly, the A. E. Society, by their Secretary and Directors, held an extensive correspondence with the heads of Colleges and Seminaries in different parts of the U. States, and with distinguished clergymen and lay-men of several States, in regard to this and other subjects. In this manner they laboured faithfully to ascertain the sentiments and feelings of the community ; and especially of those who had superintended the education of beneficiaries of the A. E. Society. As a specimen of the communications which they received in answer to their applications, I would subjoin the following extract of a letter, addressed to the Directors of the Society, by the intelligent, judicious, and excellent President of Union College at Schenectady. It is dated Nov. 1825.

“ In general, I am very favorably impressed with respect to the wisdom of the plans of the Board, and the prudence and the energy with which those plans are executed ; and in conclusion, I have therefore only to add, that from all that I have seen of the effect of public charity, on the physical, moral, and religious character of young men, I am of opinion that appropriations from such charity should be sparingly made. A greater number can then be assisted ; and the motive to personal exertion, will not be entirely re-

moved from any. In the free and long continued distribution of a public charity, there is danger that an opinion will be insensibly induced, that the amount distributed is the payment of a debt due, requiring no special gratitude in the receipt, or economy in the application—and there is also danger lest those accustomed to be taken care of by others, should insensibly cease to care for—and lose the habit of taking care of themselves. In a country like ours, where the support of the ministry must be voluntary, and where the people, if supplied at all, must be generally supplied by ministers who can live on small salaries, it is wise as far as practicable, to raise up men who can *so* live. And if the ground already gone over, were to be again gone over, it might be a question whether a system of loans, *in toto*, on a low interest, would not on the whole be wiser than a system of donations. Perhaps more would not *thus* be refunded, than will now be; assistance however would be equally within the reach of the persons who needed it; self-interest would operate more strongly to narrow their expenditures; and an increased stimulus to personal exertion, would be applied during the whole preparatory state. The incumbents on the fund would be known, not as paupers living on charity, but as indigent young men struggling with poverty, and calculating to repay the favours done them, out of the fruits of their future earnings.”

Many important testimonies of the like nature were received, also, soon after the measure in question was adopted; as may be seen by referring to the Appendix in the Eleventh Report of the Society, where will be found the testimonies of no less than nine Presidents of Colleges, of several Professors, and of many other Gentlemen of high reputation, besides communications expressing the views of about 70 beneficiaries belonging to four Colleges, and highly approving the measure in question.* Several other Societies had also

* These testimonials are signed by Presidents Day—Nott—Davis—Griffin—Humphrey—Bates—Tylor—Wayland, and Allen—by Professor Rice of Virginia, Rev. Dr. Spring of N. York—the late Rev. Dr. Chester of Albany, whose opinion, the result of his own observation and experience, as he assured the Secretary of the Society, is given in decided terms in favour of the system of “parental loan”—the Rev. Dr. Church of New Hampshire—Jeremiah Evarts, Esq.—Professor, now President Woods, of Lexington, Kentucky;—Rev. Justin Edwards—the late Rev. Dr. Payson, of Maine;—Professor Dewy;

adopted similar principles, or have adopted them since. The business-men of the community called aloud for such an arrangement. Before it was adopted, the treasury of the Society began to languish. Since its adoption, the receipts have been greatly augmented. Some who doubted about the principle, at the outset, have come fully into the approbation of it, since it has been put to the test of experience.

Such were the efforts of the Directors of the A. E. Society to learn their duty, and such the results of these efforts. Will any one say, in view of these facts, that they ought to have hesitated about acting as they have done?

Nay, I may make the appeal nearer home to the Reviewer; I may refer him to the general Assembly. In their Minutes of this very year; their Board of Education say, "We desire every beneficiary to remember, that his duty to the church, to his younger brethren who seek the same holy office, and to his Saviour, requires that so soon as he is able, he should refund the benefaction conferred on him with interest. Every beneficiary shall be furnished with an attested copy of this resolution." p. 426.

The Reviewer will perceive, that the General Assembly's Board of Education have here recognized, in the most distinct manner, the *duty* of its beneficiaries towards "the church, their younger brethren, and the Saviour" himself; to refund not only the sums of money furnished them by the Board, but to return the same "with interest," in all cases where they are able. How does this differ at all from "the *principle* of refunding "adopted by the A. E. Society? They cancel the debt, *in case of inability to pay it*; the Assembly's Board do not think that more than this *ought* to be done. And although they do not require a *written* obligation, they require that every Student should be furnished with a copy of their resolution, which certainly amounts to a *printed* obligation. If there be any advantage in this latter measure over the former, I confess myself unable to perceive what it is. Indeed I have difficulties, of serious

Rev. Messrs. Cox and Patton, of New-York; Rev. Mr. Nettleton, and a number of other clergymen of known character and respectability.

See also the 11 Rep. Prost. Epis. Ed. Soc. presented Oct. 1828. The Presbytery of Albany, and the late young men's Education So. N. Y. adopted the system of loaning before the A. E. Society.

import in my own view, in respect to this measure of the Assembly's Board. The young men who, on the score of *duty*, thus become their debtors, are left in a state in which their generosity and their honour, merely, are appealed to; and in case they decline making repayment, they are liable to be filled with apprehension that their motives may be misconstrued. But in case they are expressly liberated from their obligations by those to whom they are due, no such apprehensions will exist. In which of these predicaments would any young man of generous feelings prefer to be? And suppose cases to occur, (and such do occur), in which a young man abandons the object for which he was patronized, or becomes an apostate and disgraces the ministry; then how are the General Assembly's Board to obtain the repayment of the monies expended? In this case, the A. E. Society have a security that such monies shall not be lost to the treasury of the church.

But lest I should be tedious, I will cut short the further consideration of *facts* alleged by the Reviewer, and come to the consideration,

II. OF FEARS.

The Reviewer is afraid of the immense power, which he thinks the Parent Society will ultimately attain. These fears he has unequivocally expressed in the following language. Speaking of the *election of members by ballot*, he says,

"Whatever may be the effect of this arrangement in preventing or retarding the perversion of the funds from the original purpose, it certainly increases the power of the officers and Directors to an almost unlimited extent. It enables them, if so disposed, to select the persons who are to vote in choosing Officers and Directors; so that in fact they might as well be elected for life, with the power of nominating their own successors. Suppose that at any time a majority of acting members of the Society are in favor of the measures adopted by the Directors, the Directors can, through their friends, have new voting members chosen, favorable to the same course; so that it will in the end amount to the same thing, as to give the Directors the power of appointing their successors. The distant members, who have a right to vote, can seldom attend the anniversaries; so that from the nature

of the case, the election of officers and new members, can always be under the control of those residing near the place of holding the annual meetings. If at any time, the concerns of the Society should be mismanaged, it is evident from the very terms of the compact, that the branches and distant contributors, have no means of effecting a reformation; because they have voluntarily surrendered their rights into the hands of a body politic in the State of Massachusetts. And as this corporation can hold real estate, whose annual income shall equal ten thousand dollars; can increase permanent funds, and scholarships, to any extent; can dispose at pleasure of the annual surplus of the auxiliaries, and the monies returned by beneficiaries, and has also a *veto* on the appropriations of the branches; its power must become immense.* And the organization is so adjusted, the machinery is so admirably arranged as to concentrate the whole power in a single point; so that the hand of an infant, touching a lever in Boston, can control, and manage, and direct the whole Christian community, South and West of the Connecticut, interested in this concern," p. 363—4.

As to the *facts* here alleged, they have already been examined. The amount of the *fears* is, that there may be, or will be, perversion of power and funds.

Again, in canvassing the subject of monies loaned being returned to the general treasury, he says;

"Add these monies refunded to the permanent funds and scholarships entrusted to the immediate care of the Parent Society, and it seems to us, that if this process were to go on for half a century, a height of independence must be attained, sufficient to make even good men's heads turn giddy. From the very constitution of the society, whose claims to universal patronage we have presumed to examine, it must every year be growing more and more independent, not only of the original contributors, but also of the auxiliaries; and it must also be acquiring a more extensive influence over the ministers of the gospel in the United States. Let us suppose that some twenty or thirty years hence, one half of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church shall have been educated under this system, and that the bonds of many of them remain unpaid in the hands of the Directors, in the vicinity

* See Rules, Chapter vi. 9.

of Boston, and that in these circumstances a proposition was made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, to change some important feature in her discipline or doctrines, and that the Directors of the A. E. Society were known to think favorably of these changes—what would be the consequence? We all know how wonderfully interest influences the opinions even of good men, and how prone they are to coincide in sentiment with those on whom they are dependent,” p. 361.

Here then are two distinct fears; the one, that the power and funds of the Society may be perverted to some sinister purpose, without any adequate control; the other, that the Directors in the vicinity of Boston may, some 20 or 30 years hence, undertake, through the medium of their beneficiaries, “to change some important feature in the doctrines or discipline” of the Presbyterian church.

I am glad the writer has been ingenuous enough to speak out thus plainly the difficulties which he feels on this subject. On *facts*, his difficulties, as it seems to me, cannot rest, when he comes to review them. If so, then they must have their basis in *fears*.

I do him honour, that, while cherishing such fears, he has added a testimony so frank and noble in regard to the present Directors and management of the A. E. Society, as is the following: “We are far from intimating that any such influence is now intended to be attained, and if it were attained, that it would be improperly used. We have the happiness to be personally acquainted with some of the Directors of this great concern, and we know the reputation of all; and we believe them to be as pure in their intentions, as single in their purpose, and as devoted in the cause of evangelical piety, as any men on earth; and we disclaim any knowledge of a single act in their management of this great charity, which has the most remote sectarian bearing,” p. 361. And again; “As long as the Directors remain such as we believe they now are, intelligent, active, and devoted to the cause of evangelical doctrine and vital piety, every thing, which the interests of the church and of the world demand, will be done,” p. 364.

With these testimonies I do most heartily agree; and I sincerely thank the Reviewer for having given them to the public. It would seem, now, that in his own view, with all his

caution and apprehensions, there is, at least, no *present* danger. But then, who can certainly secure us for the future?

None, I answer unhesitatingly, but the great Head of the Church; none but God. And in this respect the A. E. Society do not stand alone. Every College, Theological Seminary, and Academy, in this country, stands on the same footing as to the *future*. Who knows whether the distinguished College and Theological Seminary at Princeton will not, before the next generation passes wholly away, go into the hands of Arminians or Unitarians? None but God, I answer boldly. Experience in other States and countries will support this answer.

The Reviewer has referred to the University at Cambridge, as an example and a proof that funds may be perverted, and that Societies who manage them may become faithless. I acknowledge this, with a feeling of deep distress. But what is the remedy? As a member of the Presbyterian Church, he may answer, "The remedy is in our Creed, and in our Formulas of discipline and doctrine." But has not the Church in Scotland been in possession of these, for almost two centuries? And is the Reviewer ignorant of the fact, that the Moderates, i. e. the Arminians, and Arianish party, had the predominance in the Church, and swayed all its General Judicatories, for many years, if they do not at the present period? He is surely not ignorant, that there is a large number of Scotch Churches, which are Seceders from the General Assembly of their church, on the ground that the majority had become corrupt.

Or, if he pleases to refer the public attention to the *establishment* in England, and the thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church, will this in any measure, help the cause? Who that knows any thing, does not know that the Church of England, in respect to far the greater majority of its leading members, has been Arminian, I had almost said, for ages; and that for no small period of time, not a few, (and if we may credit the statement of some of its ministers,) a decided majority, were Arian? And if one goes to the Creeds and Confessions of the Dutch and the German Churches, on the continent of Europe, is the argument helped at all? One glance at the *Neology* of the continent, will answer this question.

I am, indeed, not one of those who have any prejudices whatever against Creeds and Confessions, when used within

their proper limits, and assigned to their appropriate places. In fact, whenever I hear a man declaiming against them, in a loose and general manner, I always take it for granted, that it is because he wishes to have the liberty, in some way or other, of inculcating what is opposed to them. But on the other hand, I have no apprehension that we can put them into the same scale with the Bible, in regard to their influence in preserving the unity and purity of the Churches with respect to doctrine and practice. When all is done and said, they are only paper ramparts about the citadel of God ; and men will batter them down, whenever their passions or their prejudices are armed against them.

What then is to keep the Theological Seminary at Princeton, from ultimately turning apostate ? Is it the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church ? How can we any more put our trust in this, than the good people of Scotland could in theirs ? Once, men of God filled nearly all the pulpits in their land ; but what has been the fact for a century past ? Now, most of the members of the Presbyterian General Assembly, I hope and verily believe, are men of God, and devoted to the interests of truth ; but how can this prove that it will always be so ? And if the General Assembly in the U. States, should take the course of the established Churches in Scotland and in England, then what is to become of the Seminary at Princeton, with all its funds and all its Scholarships, which already amount to more than one half of the permanent funds of the A. E. Society ? What a tremendous engine will it be, to prostrate in the dust every advocate of the truths which it now defends ?

And does not the very same argument, (if it be any argument at all), apply to every College, Theological Seminary, Academy, and benevolent Society with funds, in the whole country ? Most certainly it does. The next generation—who can tell what they are to be ? God only knows. What is the result then ? Why, if we are to reason as the Reviewer does, the result is, that we must have no Colleges endowed ; no Theological Seminaries of this character ; no Academies ; no Scholarships ; no benevolent Institutions ; for even such as are without permanent funds, may be perverted. Nay, the very structure of our Government should be altered ; for the powers now committed to our legislators and judges, are liable to abuse by bad men, and therefore

adapted to become the causes of immense and incalculable injury to the community.

Can any man, now, on sober consideration, adopt or give assent to an argument or a principle, which is connected with such tremendous consequences as those to which the argument of the Reviewer does most plainly and certainly lead? "What proves too much, proves nothing," says the old proverb of the logicians; and it says this very truly.*

The reasoning of the Reviewer on page 388, in order to

* An opinion has sometimes been expressed, (and it will be well if the remarks of the Reviewer do not strengthen the belief), that Institutions ought not to have *permanent funds*. In regard to some Institutions for promoting religion and benevolence, this is doubtless true. But is there no danger of inflicting a deep and palpable injury upon the Church, by an indiscriminate condemnation of these important aids in building up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in the world? The experience of the best men in all ages, has shown that such funds are exceedingly necessary and useful in promoting some objects of great and permanent interest. As an example, may be mentioned, the work of *education* in nearly all its branches. The A. E. Society, it is believed by very many, comes, to some extent at least, within this class of Institutions. It is not formed for *temporary* purposes. Should the Millennium commence the next year, the object it has in view would be increased, not diminished in importance. "For the poor ye have *always* with you." The means of educating them will always be needed. The responsible duty of supervision, the neglect of which will more than any thing else lead to a perversion of the funds, can never be thoroughly discharged by the officers and agents of Education Societies, unless they are in a good degree relieved from embarrassment, and constant apprehension as to the *means* of carrying forward the youth under their patronage. The A. E. Society has adopted no new principle on this subject. The plan of establishing Scholarships is of long standing. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church have warmly approved it; and the Trustees of that Judicatory already hold sixteen such foundations for the use of the Seminary at Princeton; amounting to a permanent fund of \$40,000—which is more than half of all the money vested by the A. E. Society and its Branches, in this manner—and within ten thousand dollars of as much as has yet been actually paid into the treasury of the Society. *Four fifths of all the Scholarships belonging to the A. E. Society, and to its Branches, are merely TEMPORARY*; they are *annual* subscriptions, binding only during the pleasure of the donors. Only *three* permanent Scholarships have been given, out of New England; and one of these was by a benevolent lady in Great Britain. In this respect, therefore, those who have jealousies about permanent funds, may find many other Institutions and Societies in our country, which afford, as to the point in question, more ground of jealousy than the A. E. Society.

remove suspicion that the General Assembly, as well as the A. E. Society, might possibly betray their trusts, in process of future time, furnishes no answer to the above suggestions ; nor is it grounded on any appeal to the history of the General Assembly in past ages, and in other countries. How can all this history be overlooked by intelligent and candid men ? The grand remedy proposed by the Reviewer, for all the evils that may occur in the General Assembly's Board of Education, is, *that they do not perpetuate their own body : and that the General Assembly, on whom they are dependent, is annually elected.*' But is not this precisely the case with the Directors of the A. E. Society ? And after all, who can in either case, give assurance that *those who elect annually*, will not, in process of time, become corrupt ? Was not this the case in Scotland ? And have we any better security in this country ? None, I answer ; none that can be any better, so far as merely human arrangements are concerned.

What then is the antidote for our *fears* as to the *future* ? Not the General Assembly ; nor any other Assembly, or Society, or body of men, or Statutes, or Creeds, or Constitutions. *To trust in God*, and *to do our duty*, is the only ground of hope, that we have or can have, or that we need, in regard to time future. Had Christians more *faith* and less *fear*, the world would be revolutionized in a short time. The treasuries of God would be full to overflowing, and all hands would be set to work, and all hearts engaged, in the glorious enterprise of spreading abroad the knowledge of salvation.

In view of all this, I am constrained to wonder that such an objection to the A. E. Society should be brought forward. The argument is simply this ; 'Take care how you build up this Society, for should it once become corrupt, it will be a tremendous engine in doing evil.' What ! And cannot this be said of every good institution which adorns Society, or blesses mankind ? Nay, cannot Christianity itself be abused, and has it not been, to the destruction for time and eternity of millions and millions ? But shall there be no Christianity, because it may be abused ? Shall there be no endowed Academies, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, because they may be abused ? If so, then let the Reviewer use his eloquence and his influence with the next General Assembly,

to take away all the funds from the Princeton Seminary, and to return its Scholarships to the owners. It is in vain for him to say, that there is, or can be, any other security that they will not be perverted, than that which the A. E. Society have, that theirs will not be.

I have a word to say on the fears which he expresses, that, at some future period, the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society, who settle in the South and West, and who are indebted to that Society, may come forward, and out of complaisance to the Directors who live in and near Boston, may vote in such a way as will change the doctrines or the discipline of the Presbyterian Churches.

In the first place, who are to license and settle their young men in the Presbyterian connexion? Of course the several Presbyteries belonging to the General Assembly. Will these Presbyteries, then, ordain young men, most of whom will be educated in Presbyterian Seminaries of learning, who will sell their consciences and their integrity, and break their solemn vows, in order to please the Directors of the Parent Society in and around Boston; and all this, because they owe them a small sum of money? The fact that the Society has no Institutions of its own, but educates young men wherever they pursue a regular course of study, is sufficient proof, that the direct influence which they may have over young men, will ever be secondary. The Society has assisted 40 young men the present year, in four Theological Seminaries belonging to the Presbyterian church; but who will imagine that the influence which the Society holds over these young men, is equal to that of their Instructors, or of the Presbyteries to which they stand related? No one, who considers in what manner the Society is constituted, and how entirely the Directors are dependent upon it, can seriously apprehend any evil from this source.

But I have other questions to ask. Whence comes the suspicion, that the Directors in and about Boston, may wish to intermeddle with the doctrines or the discipline of the Presbyterian church? To my certain knowledge, it is habitual with those who now hold that office, to recommend to all the young men, who go from N. England into the boundaries of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, to unite with the Presbyteries, and not to hold on upon Congregationalism. A greater mistake cannot be made.

than to suppose that they have any zeal on this subject. And should the A. E. Society elect others like them, (which they certainly may do, when they leave the stage, or resign, or whenever the Society chooses to supersede them,) then these same views will be still cherished. Nearly one half of the young men who have gone from the Andover Theological Seminary, have become Presbyterians, and that Seminary allows of Presbyterian Professors, and never has uttered, and I trust will not utter, one word against Presbyterianism.

Let us now turn the tables. The Reviewer calls on the General Assembly to educate their own young men, and not to leave them to others. In this he is in the right. And it is exceedingly cheering, that very many individuals and churches belonging to the connexion of the General Assembly, have long ago embarked in the blessed work which the Reviewer recommends, and now assist in bringing forward at least *two hundred* young men for the ministry, in harmonious connexion with the A. E. Society. The Reviewer has said, that nothing, or nothing to the purpose, has yet been done by the Assembly's Board. But while our Western country is starving for the bread of life, and the world is perishing in wickedness, the A. E. Society have believed that something is to be *done*, and have tried to do it.

Have they ever decried the exertions of other benevolent Societies? Have they ever suggested one syllable, which could raise a suspicion about the motives, or alarm the public about the danger of such Associations? Let it be produced; and for one, I will give them my full share of disapprobation.

On the contrary, they will lift up their hands and hearts to God, with devout thankfulness, when the exhortation of the Reviewer shall be fully heeded by Presbyterian churches, and they will come forward, and take charge of a great host of laborers for the vineyard of the Lord.

But suppose now, when they do this, the Congregationalists should say; 'See, the Presbyterians are filling our country with their pupils and friends. They have a great Society, great Seminaries, many Scholarships, and great zeal for Presbyterianism; and if we wait much longer, they will be too strong for us, and Congregationalism will be driven from the land. What is to be done? Why, this we can do.

We can call aloud on the public, and rouse them up to an apprehension of future danger to their religious freedom, and their welfare. We can easily excite the jealousies of the West on this subject, who are already filled with apprehension. We can thus make the candidates of the Presbyterian ministry objects of suspicion, and cause the public zeal in favour of raising them up greatly to abate. And thus Congregationalism may still be safe.'

What could the Reviewer object to this? It is difficult for me to see; for has he not by implication done the same thing? The rectitude of his intention I do not mean to call in question. The correctness of the principle on which his popular appeal to suspicion and party feeling is evidently grounded, (although he may not be conscious of it), is what can never for a moment be defended, until it is decided, that Congregationalists are heretics, and that they have a design to destroy the Presbyterian churches.

In a day like this, when every opposer of vital piety in our land is making an effort to raise a hue and cry about "religious combinations," and "religious establishments," is it prudent, is it wise, is it becoming, is it brotherly, to make such objections as these?

But I must come to a close. And this I shall do by a few words on the last topic proposed for consideration; viz.

III. The method which the Reviewer has chosen, in order to accomplish his object.

I frankly confess that I have a deep feeling on this subject. The obligation to communicate serious doubts and fears about the tendency of any measures so important as those of the A. E. Society, I do fully recognize. The privilege of doing it is an undoubted one. But *how* shall this be done? Shall the tocsin of alarm be sounded through the United States, and all the enemies of religion be set in motion, and have their mouths filled with matter of accusation against the A. E. Society? Thousands will read or hear these accusations or objections, who never listen to the present or to any answer whatever. Is it best to afford matter of clamour to such men? If the Reviewer had serious objections, why not make them directly to the A. E. Society, or to its Directors, and have them canvassed in the meeting of the Society or of the Board? Is there any ground to suppose, that they would not have received an earnest and

respectful attention? None. Why then should the public mind be awakened to suspicion, or be agitated about this matter, before it had been canvassed by the Society? If it be proper to accomplish objects of this nature in such a way, then may such members of the Presbyterian church as approve of the writer's views, find hereafter deep reason to regret, that they have sanctioned a principle which allows all their efforts to endow Seminaries of learning, classic or sacred, to be held up as objects of suspicion and of danger.

But I do believe, I may say that I know, that many, very many members of the Presbyterian church never will, and never can, approve either the reasoning and arguments of the Reviewer, or the method which he has chosen in order that they should be felt by the public. *Est modus in rebus.* A great concern like this should not be transacted by an appeal to popular feeling; above all, by an appeal which has its basis in a view of facts altogether imperfect, and in many respects entirely erroneous. As a friend of the A. E. Society, as a disinterested friend, I feel that this Society has reason to complain of such a proceeding; and, if I may judge of the sympathies of others who have read the Reviewer's remarks, I believe its friends will complain aloud, and far and wide too, that justice has not been done to the Society, and that it is not guilty of the mistakes laid to its charge, nor any more exposed to future dangers, than every Society and Seminary in the country, and throughout the world.

The Reviewer will, I trust, forgive the plainness of these remarks, after the plainness with which he has expressed his own views. That they are published to the world is the necessary result of his own Strictures having been published.

Whoever he may be, I honour his talents, and the warmth of his heart on the great and good cause; although I differ widely from him as to some facts, and some principles of reasoning. If any thing which I have said, bears hardly upon him, it results from necessity, not from choice. I could not help endeavoring to show the true results and bearing of his allegations and his reasonings; and if in doing this, there may now and then be something which presses hard, it is not because I wish it, but because the nature of the case demands it.

After all, the A. E. Society fear no canvassing either in public or in private. They exclaim, with one voice, 'If our cause cannot be sustained by an appeal to reason, and argument, and Christian principle, then let it go down!' That it can be sustained, I must fully believe; and I have here proffered my feeble aid, to assist in this great object. But I am most fully aware, that neither my aid, nor that of its present friends, will be adequate to accomplish and to secure all the important objects which it has in view. To God the Saviour, I would most sincerely, most devoutly commend it; and it is my earnest supplication, that the smiles of heaven may be continually afforded it; that all its benevolent measures may be blest; that its friends, and its opposers (if it should have any), may yet be united in rejoicing over it, as the happy instrument of turning many to righteousness: and that future generations may rise up, and call it blessed.

M. STUART

REMARKS OF THE EDITORS ON THE FOREGOING STRICTURES.

We insert the preceding Strictures, notwithstanding their length and severity, with the utmost readiness. Our object was to bring a subject, which we deem of vital importance, before the churches, with the desire, that it might be candidly and conscientiously considered. As we have no party nor sectarian objects to promote, we are desirous that every thing that can be said in behalf of the A. E. Society, may be fairly and fully presented. We have read these Strictures with the attention due to the subject, and to the source whence they come. We cannot consent, however, to allow them to come before our readers without making such remarks, as we deem necessary for our own justification, and for presenting the subject in its proper light.

The first point, to which we would call the attention of our readers, is the propriety of bringing this subject before the public. Our reasons for taking this course may be very briefly stated. We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle, that public discussion of public measures is essential to the well-being of any community, civil or religious. As this will not be doubted, we shall not argue the point, but simply show, that the course which we saw fit to pursue, is justifiable on this ground; and that, if the friends of the A. E. Society do not mean to put down all discussion, and all examination into its principles and measures, they have no just cause of complaint. What then is the state of the case? Here is a Society proposing for its object the responsible work of preparing young men for the ministry. In the prosecution of this object, it addresses itself to the Christian public for support; it urges its claims with zeal and constancy in every part of the country, not merely in the section where

it originated and where it is located, but within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, organizes societies in a large portion of our congregations, and bids fair, in a short time, to get the whole of this important business under its sole direction. Now, supposing that there are a number of men, or *any one man*, who conscientiously believes, that the plan of this society is injudicious, that its principles are of evil tendency, that its organization is peculiarly dangerous, is he to be debarred the privilege of saying so? Is the mere fact that others think differently, to prevent him from presenting, in a fair and Christian manner, his difficulties for the consideration of his fellow Christians? We trust not. We trust that the time is far distant, when any society will either wish, or be able, to prevent public discussion or public scrutiny. But it seems, that in this instance, it is regarded as matter of just complaint: not because the Society or its friends are afraid of public discussion, but because they consider, that the proper course for any such individual to pursue, would be to present his objections to the Society itself or its Board of Directors. We thought differently, and think so still, for the following reasons: 1. The appeal of the Society is to the Christian public; to the Christian public therefore belongs the right of judging of its merits; and to the Christian public should be addressed, in our judgment, all the arguments for or against it. 2. We had good reasons for believing, that our objections would produce no effect upon the minds of the Directors. We knew that they had often considered the subject, and had frequently expressed their confidence in the wisdom and excellence of their plans. Where then could be the use of presenting our objections to them? What good could reasonably have been anticipated from such a course? None at all, as the result has proved. The author of these Strictures, who, it may be presumed, speaks the feelings and views of the Board, differs from us entirely in opinion, pronounces our objections of no weight, and is far from supposing that the whole system of the Society should be revolutionized, in order to render it worthy of public confidence. We might, therefore, as well have placed our objections in the fire, as presented them to this Board. The same reasons, with nearly equal force, apply to the idea of bringing them before the Society itself. Its annual meetings, even those for business, are not suitable seasons for

the discussion of questions, which involve so many principles and have so many important bearings, immediate and remote. Besides, the only probable method of operating effectually on the minds either of the Board or of the Society, was to bring the matter before the public; to have the reasons for and against, fairly presented; and time given for mature deliberation. The Society could not change its plans, after all that it has said and done, unless a change had previously been wrought in public sentiment on the subject. Now supposing, with such prospects, in case of an appeal to the Society or its Directors, we conscientiously believe (which is in fact the case), that our objections are of deep and solemn weight; that they call for the serious attention of the churches, are we to be denied the privilege of speaking out? Never.

Besides, we knew that these objections, or the most important of them, had been presented again and again to some of the leading members of the Society without effect. It matters not whether the representations were made orally or in writing; the subject was thus brought up, and that too, not merely by those who stood aloof from the Society, but by its own members and friends, some objecting to one feature and some to another. The matter of permanent funds has been more than once strenuously urged on the attention of the excellent Secretary of the Society, without producing any alteration in his views. The whole plan of the loaning system has been objected to, and argued against formally without effect. Now we ask, under these circumstances what good could have been expected from doing what had virtually been done so often, and by so many individuals, before? We think none.

But finally, our object demanded that this appeal should be made to the Christian public. This object was to prevent those of our fellow Christians, who should think with us, when this subject was once fairly presented to their minds, from committing themselves in this business; and to effect if possible through public sentiment, (the only way in which it could be expected), a change in what we honestly consider the objectionable features in the Society. This is an object, which we are neither afraid, nor ashamed to avow, and which, thinking and feeling as we do, it was not only proper but our bounden duty to pursue. We object to this Society,

that its system tends to degrade the character of its beneficiaries; that it is inconsistent with the liberty of ministers of the Gospel; and that it gives the Society a power over the destinies of the church, which no set of men on earth ought to possess, and which we are utterly unwilling to submit to. We should object as strenuously to this system, were it pursued by the General Assembly's Board, as we do in the present instance. Now, if these objections are well founded, the Christian public should feel them; for they are deeply interested in the result; and if they are destitute of foundation, the minds of those on whom they operate should be set to rest. Our object, therefore, demanded a public discussion. We are perfectly willing, that any one and every one, who upon careful and proper consideration, approves of the loaning system, of voluntary societies rendering themselves independent of public opinion by permanent funds, and election by ballot of their voting members, &c. &c., should join this Society, be he Presbyterian or Congregationalist, and press on its views and interests with all his heart. But we are, at the same time, desirous that those who with us, solemnly believe that these principles are fraught with evils to the best interests of the church, should not be borne on by the current, and brought to cooperate with a system, of which on maturer consideration, they would seriously disapprove.

We deeply regret that the Society or its friends should be grieved at the course which we have taken, but their complaining "loud and far and wide," we must think is not only unfounded, but amazingly injudicious. If we have misrepresented facts, we are open to conviction, and ready to make acknowledgment. If our objections are of no weight, let them be answered; but do not let us be condemned for appealing to the same tribunal to which the claims of the Society were submitted, and which alone is competent to decide in the case. We are glad, that the author of the *Strictures* does us the justice to admit, that we have avoided all *personality* and all imputation of improper motives; and we trust that if this discussion is to be continued, the same forbearance may be observed by the writers on both sides of the question. He complains, however, of our having sounded "the tocsin of alarm." If by this is meant presenting to our readers, a calm and dispassionate statement of our objections to the A. E. Society, then indeed have we

sounded such an alarm. But let it be remembered, that the rousing character of the appeal depends entirely on the force of these objections. If they be of no weight, we have done the Society no harm, and have excited no apprehension. For it cannot be asserted, that we have dealt in mere insinuations, or empty declamation. As to his opinion (p. 600), that those members of the Presbyterian church, who approve of our former remarks, may have reason to regret having set such a precedent; we would only say, that when they appeal to the Christian public for the support of any of their institutions, they will never complain, that any individual (especially if he belong to the body of Christians to whom they apply for patronage,) should make a calm and Christian statement of his objections to their projects. If we have done more than this, we have done more than we intended; and we fear no reprisals in the spirit of the review complained of. The deep feeling, therefore, which the author confesses on the subject of an appeal to the Christian public, and which he says he entertains in common with many of the friends of the A. E. Society, we would do nothing to aggravate; while we earnestly maintain, that we have done nothing more than exercise a right, which we, in common with every other member of the Christian community, possess, and which we are persuaded, he would be one of the last men to wish to trammel in this free country. Such is our defence of the course which we have pursued.

The second point to which we would call the attention of our readers, is the minute details required of the beneficiaries of the Society, as to their receipts and expenditures. Though we consider this subject of importance, and are decided in our convictions of its inexpediency, it is the least prominent of all our objections. Our author, however, has devoted nearly ten pages to the defence of this part of the system. We object to it, because it is unnecessary, because it is injurious in its influence on character, and because it is exceedingly painful to young men of delicate and ingenuous feelings.

It is unnecessary, because all the information which it conveys may, as far as requisite, be obtained by less objectionable methods. It is argued, that as the Society is bound to ascertain the pecuniary circumstances and charac-

ter of its beneficiaries, therefore this minute detail of all they receive, earn, or expend, is altogether necessary. We are fully aware of the responsibility which rests on the Society in this respect; the question is only as to the means adopted to discharge this part of their duty. We should suppose that the examining committees, by whom their beneficiaries are taken up, would be able to ascertain, with sufficient accuracy, the circumstances and character of the young men whom they adopt. This is the very purpose for which they are appointed; and if their duty be faithfully discharged, and the young men be worthy of confidence, there is little danger of deception. This is not theory on our part. We have seen this plan acted upon for years, and have never had reason to regret the want of this quarterly certified account from the young men, of every cent which they have received or expended. Our remarks, of course, do not apply to those who are so young, that their own parents would not trust them with the disposal of the funds requisite for their support. In such cases, their accounts may be kept, and presented by the Principal of the school to which they belong. According to our experience, therefore, this feature of the system of the A. E. Society is unnecessary, as far as ascertaining what the pecuniary wants of the individual really are. We have no doubt, that individual cases of deception will occur on every plan; but we do not think, that the whole system of the Society should be constructed on the supposition, that their beneficiaries will deceive them if they can. Our best security against such cases, is extreme caution as to the character of those whom we adopt. And it is certainly possible, as experience shows, to secure satisfactory evidence on this point, without having recourse to the plan objected to.

As to its being necessary to secure the confidence of the public, as our author argues, we would only say, that this is not the case with the public with which we are acquainted. Their confidence may be gained, by the character and vigilance of the men to whom this great concern is committed; and by the smallness of the amount appropriated to each individual.

Our second objection to this feature of the plan of the A. E. Society is, that we deem its influence on the character of the young men to be injurious. The author of the Stric-

tures recommends it, as teaching them frugality, industry, &c., and says much on the evil of filling "the pockets of young men and boys with money, which is at their own disposal." But does the Reviewer recommend filling the pockets of young men and boys with money? Are any of the author's remarks on the blessings of poverty, and the evils of being rich, really to the point? Do we recommend making beneficiaries rich, or giving them the means of being extravagant? We are willing to adopt all the general remarks of the author, on this head, as our own; but we maintain, that a young man, who has a hundred dollars to maintain himself upon, in any of our Colleges or theological Seminaries, will not find himself rich, or raised above the necessity of exercising frugality, or of making personal exertions. As, therefore, the plan which we contemplate, and which we have seen long acted upon, with the most beneficial results, secures the advantages contemplated by the demand of minute quarterly returns, we are not disposed to close our eyes, to what we deem its necessary effect on the character of the young men. Our objection is not, that it makes the young men too economical; but that it proceeds on the principle of want of confidence in the young men themselves. You are afraid to trust them with seventy-two dollars a year, without requiring them to state, how they spend it, how much for tuition, how much for board, how much for washing, &c. &c., and to have it certified by their teacher, that this statement, to the best of his knowledge, is correct. Now we maintain, that where a man is old enough to take care of himself, and is considered worthy of being a candidate for the sacred office; all this is exceedingly derogatory. It wears out those feelings of delicacy and independence, which are among the most important natural elements of excellence of character. The way to make men worthy of confidence, is to treat them with confidence. The whole man is elevated by the good opinion and trust reposed in him, by those around him and above him. We deprecate, therefore, reducing young men to this constant feeling of dependence; this pressing upon them at every turn the idea of their subjection. As far as our experience extends, it is decidedly in favor of a more confidential and generous treatment of men destined to any important office. If they be not worthy of this confidence, they are not fit for the

ministry. If they cannot be trusted with the disposal of seventy two dollars a year, for their own support, who would trust them with the ministry of the Gospel?

There is, on page 573, a very great perversion, unintentional we do not doubt, of one of our former statements. We had said, that we knew of "more than one young man of unquestionable piety", who had declined asking aid from the A. E. Society on account of these quarterly returns. Our author represents the dread of *accountability*, as being the motive for their declining; and "cannot refrain from adding, that if *accountability* will deter any young man from asking aid, it is his earnest hope and wish that the A. E. Society may never have any beneficiaries of this character." It is not accountability, as such, from which young men shrink. It is the kind and nature of this accountability. If this be proper, then shrinking from it would justify the author's remark. But this is the very point at issue. Supposing this accountability extended to the way in which a man ate, or walked, how many words he spoke in a day, and a thousand particulars of like nature, and a young man should spurn at it; would it be proper to say, that 'he is afraid of accountability, we want no men who are not willing to be accountable?' This appears very much like throwing dust into the reader's eyes. We doubt not that the author of these Strictures, is willing to be responsible for the discharge of his duty. But supposing, that those to whom he is thus responsible, should require a quarterly certified return of every cent he spent, and every cent he gained; would he submit to it? Let it be understood then, that it is not an unwillingness to be open to any just and proper inspection, that we would represent the young men alluded to, as entertaining. It is the nature and minuteness of the details which they would be required to present, at which their better feelings revolted. They felt that they were worthy of being trusted; and were unwilling to submit to a system, which seems to bear, on the very face of it, the implication, that they were not deserving of the slightest confidence.

Our third objection is, that young men of delicate and ingenuous minds, shrink from such a public developement of their private concerns, and from this minute responsibility for all their receipts and expenditures. The statement of this objection has drawn down upon us, some of the severest

remarks which our author has ventured to make. We do not intend replying to them with any warmth; but would merely state the grounds we have for making the remark, and vindicate the use of the word *public*, which has given so much offence. We say then, that as far as we have had any opportunity of learning the light in which this requisition is viewed by young men, it is with universal and strong dislike. Our author may object, that our opportunities of observation have been very imperfect. We reply, that in many respects our situation for getting at the truth, is much better than his own. In the first place, he sees in the general young men only from one section of the country, where the early habits and modes of thinking are less opposed to this principle, than in some other sections of our land. Secondly, he sees the official reports, as it were, of the young men, in which only what is favorable is expressed. We are far from saying, that no young man of delicate feelings would submit to this feature of the system. This is not the fair import of our language. We say that delicate and ingenuous feelings instinctively revolt against it. Does this imply that the 900 young men, who have submitted to it, are destitute of delicate and ingenuous feelings? By no means. Convince these young men (whatever may be their feelings) that it is their duty to submit to this requirement, and they will cheerfully submit. A sense of duty, and a desire to promote the Redeemer's kingdom, will make this, or any other burden, light. They would, from the same motives act the part of the lowest menials. Their submitting to it, therefore, is no evidence that it is not revolting in its own nature. As long as the imposing character of those around them, and the general and confident opinion expressed in its favor, secures this conviction of its necessity in their own minds, you will hear no complaint. But take any young man of delicate feelings, who has not been thus taught, and thus influenced, and if his soul does not rise against it, we can put no confidence in the result of our own experience, or in the testimony of our own feelings. Our remark, therefore, cannot fairly be made to impeach, in the least, either the sensibility or sincerity of the numerous young men who are on the funds of the A. E. Society.

Our author predicts (p. 572,) that thousands in our country will understand, by the words "public developement," that

we meant to assert that the Schedules of all the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society are published to the world ; and therefore says, that we are "accountable for an impression so much *at variance with the fact*, and tending to cast odium on the Directors of the A. E. Society," &c. He acquits us from the charge of intentional error, but remarks, "that when such great interests are concerned as are called in question here, men are bound to know that what they state as facts is correct." We must confess, that a glow of strong feeling passed over our minds when we read this paragraph. Have we then stated as a fact, that the Schedules of all the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society, are published to the world ? Can the author really give the public credit for so little discernment, as to suppose, that they would understand us as meaning by "public developement," in the connection in which those words occur, that the quarterly accounts of 400 young men, are printed every three months and sent through the country ? This would of itself require a volume. We assuredly, not only, had no intention of making this impression, but we never dreamed, that any man *could* suppose that any such thing was intended. If one man in ten thousand takes up this idea, from our remark, we shall be exceedingly surprised. There are surely different degrees of publicity. A thing is published, when made known in all nations, and in all languages ; and it is published if made known in a village of a dozen houses. When a young man, therefore, is called upon to send in a statement of every cent gained or spent during the quarter ; which goes to the President of his College ; then to the Secretary and Directors of the Branch Society ; then to the whole Board of the A. E. Society ; and in case, of dispute, to the Society itself ; it may, without any unauthorized use of language, be called a public developement of private concerns. Had we committed an error, we should have thanked the author for the correction. But his putting a construction on our words, which is so foreign from their natural import, and then holding us up to the public, as accountable for a gross misrepresentation of facts, we confess, both surprised and pained us.

We come now to the third point, and that is the loaning system. This is a subject unconnected with any party or sectarian principles, and should, therefore, be calmly and seriously considered. We were on mature reflection

opposed to this system, and felt prepared to present our reasons for this opposition, and consequently considered ourselves authorized to urge the adoption of it, as one objection to the plan of the A. E. Society. What the author of these Strictures has said in its favor, the public may read and give it its due weight. Our objections are, 1. That it presents the whole subject in a wrong light. 2. That it exerts an injurious influence over the character of the young men. 3. That it tends to make the Society independent of public opinion; and 4. That it gives the Society a power over the destinies of the church, which no body of men ought to possess.

We say, that one objection to the loaning system is, that it presents the whole subject in a wrong light. Every one, who has the least acquaintance with our schools or colleges knows, that it ever has been, and still is the case, that those who are educated on charitable funds, are regarded as degraded by their fellow students. Whatever may have been anticipated by its friends, we know that this is the fact, to a very painful extent, with regard to the beneficiaries of the A. E. Society. Now why is this? Mainly as we think, because the church has so generally looked upon her aid to these young men as *charities*, to which they were in no way entitled; and considered the favor as being altogether upon their part. The principle on which we would place this subject, is a very plain and broad one. Whenever any man devotes his whole time and talents to the service of any community, at their request, it is obligatory on that community to provide for his support. This is the principle on which all salaries are paid, whether in the state or church, or in literary institutions. It is the principle on which the apostle Paul argues, in 1 Cor. ix. to prove, that they who preach the Gospel, should live by the Gospel, and which he shows is applied even to the brutes. It is the principle which our Saviour recognizes, when he declares, that the laborer is worthy of his hire. It is recognized by every civilized government in the world, in regard to those who are in actual service, and to those who are preparing for it. If this principle be just, it applies as well to young men preparing for the ministry as to pastors. We can see no reason why the support of the one is more a matter of charity than that of the other. The adoption of this principle is pro-

nounced by our author to be chimerical and impossible. He argues that it proves too much ; that it would require the church to support the rich, as well as indigent candidates for the ministry. We would ask, whether the rich and poor are not already *educated* gratuitously in all our theological Seminaries ; and whether the church considers this an unreasonable burden ? Surely not. But on what principle is this done ? Certainly on the one stated above. If it be asked, whether we wish to see all the candidates for the ministry supported at public expense, as the cadets are at West Point ? We answer no, simply because it is unnecessary, and because we find it difficult to obtain funds sufficient to maintain those who cannot support themselves. We are glad to see young men devoting themselves to the church, and preparing themselves for the service of Christ, at their own expense ; and we should be glad to see the rich preaching the Gospel gratuitously to those who had no means of requiring them. We cannot see the force of our author's other objection, that it would be necessary to tax the members of the church, in proportion to their wealth, if this principle were adopted. Why is it not necessary to tax the members of the church for the salaries of the pastors ? Are not the contributions for this purpose *VOLUNTARY* ? Do not the poor often pay more in proportion than the rich ? Is there any necessity for a church establishment, or for the interference of the civil power to collect these salaries ? No. The power, which secures these free and cheerful contributions, lies in the self-evident principle which we have stated above. It is a matter of natural justice, as well as of divine authority, that the laborer is worthy of his hire. We desire no church establishment, to make those who love the Gospel, contribute to its support. And no such establishment, and no civil power is requisite to make them give voluntarily and gladly to support those, who offer themselves to carry this Gospel to the destitute. We are sorry that our author can think the plan suggested, and acted upon already to so great an extent, chimerical. If however "what proves too much, proves nothing" as he says, he must either withdraw this objection, or maintain that taxation and compulsion are necessary for the support of the Gospel. It has been suggested, that on this plan, the church would be liable to imposition, by those whom she had educated for her

service turning aside to some other avocation. If it be thought necessary to guard against the possibility of such an evil, conditional bonds might be given, as in many instances has been done, that the money shall be repaid if the individual fail to enter on his work. For ourselves, however, we would rather seek our security in the hearts and consciences of the young men themselves. We are no advocates of bonds.

We are anxious to see the principle, which we have advanced, and which we know is recognized by some of the wisest and best men in our country, fully recognized by the church; because it would, at once, disenthral our young men. We have seen enough to know how severely they feel being regarded as charity students, and how injuriously the state of things in most of our Colleges operates upon their character. The loaning system proceeding, as we think, upon a wrong principle, we know from observation, and testimony, does not help the matter at all. A young man, who feels himself standing on the ground which we have assumed, and knowing that it is recognized as just, by those around him, loses entirely the degrading feeling of dependence. He voluntarily tenders his life and talents to the church, and is voluntarily, yea gladly accepted. The debt is mutual; and he recognizes his obligation to consecrate his all, to advance the best interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, exactly as the faithful minister now does.

If these remarks be well founded, the loaning system is radically wrong. It is unjust in principle; as much so as it would be to make every servant of the civil or religious public, refund their several salaries. It is indeed a plain principle of justice, that where a compensation is given, service should be rendered; but we contend, that in the case before us, an equivalent is found in the devotion of the time and talents of the candidate to the service of the church; and if this be so, it is oppressive to burden him with debt. We greatly lament the adoption of the loaning system by the A. E. Society, because it tends to perpetuate and confirm the evils, of which we have already spoken, and which are so sensibly felt by our most valuable young men, and which always will be felt, until this subject is viewed in a different light from that in which this system presents it.

If it be asked, whether we consider young men, educated by the church, as under no obligation to return the money

expended on their preparation for the ministry? We would answer, that our view of this subject is, that every such man, and every other man, who enters the ministry, is bound to do all he can, for the cause of Christ. If the education cause be the loudest and most imperious in its calls, let him devote his resources and his efforts in that direction. If there be most need, in the time and place where his lot is cast, to advance the cause of missions, let this command his money and his time. We consider the return as made in devoting *himself*; with all he is and has, to the service of his Master. More than this, the church should neither wish nor require.

Our second objection to the loaning system is, its injurious effect upon the character.

On this subject we shall say but little, as much that might be here introduced has already been hinted at. We deprecate the influence of DEBT, on the moral feelings and peace of young men. We all know what this influence is; how much it interferes with the comfort, and even with the improvement and usefulness of the individual. We regret, therefore, to see this harassing load systematically laid upon a great portion of our ministers. We know, and we knew before, that the Directors of the A. E. Society have a dispensing power. But we are sure that this remedy cannot reach the evil. They cannot tell how much of embarrassment and difficulty, in every case, will justify them in cancelling the bonds, which they may hold. Whatever may be their kind feelings, the young men (we are speaking from facts, and not from theory, as our author seems constantly to imagine), feel the load. It presses on their minds during their preparatory course, and stares them in the face the moment they commence their work. We have known instances, in which their anxiety to rid themselves of this pressure, has led them at once to ask, where most money was to be gained, and shape their course accordingly. This, though not an universal, nor even we trust, a general result, is still a very natural one; which has occurred, and doubtless often will occur again. But supposing, that a young man resists this first temptation, still the debt follows him, and will soon begin to accumulate. Every one knows, that in the vast majority of situations, in which ministers of the Gospel are placed in our country, it must be a difficult task to support themselves and families. Or to quote our author's own

words when speaking of the necessity of frugality ; " it is absolutely certain that their salary, in any ordinary case, will never be adequate, without the strictest economy, to their wants," (p. 569.) A remark which he appears strangely to have forgotten, when he is arguing to prove that any young man of industry and good talents, may without difficulty discharge a debt of from four to six or seven hundred dollars. We say then, if our author's statement, that in any ordinary case, the salary of a minister will not be adequate to his wants, without the strictest economy, is true, this debt in all ordinary cases must be a harassing and painful load. We know an instance in which a Society adopted the loaning plan, and fixed on five years, as the term in which the monies advanced were to be repaid. But it was found necessary to extend the period to seven years ; and it is now contemplated to abandon the system entirely. Until this debt is paid, a young man is never free. He has, with regard to every dollar that comes into his hand, to debate the question, what is to be done with it ? Shall I employ it for my own use, or for some benevolent purpose, or must I lay it aside for the A. E. Society ? Any man who has felt the misery of this perpetual anxiety to get rid of pecuniary obligations, will not readily consent to subject the ministry, as a body, to its temptations and its sufferings.

Our third objection to the loaning system, is, that it tends to make the Society independent of public opinion.

It is a matter of vast consequence, that our voluntary Societies should be religiously strict on this point. They should be so organized that their existence may depend on the approbation of the Christian public ; so that, if at any time they should abuse their trust, they may lose their power. It is evident, that any Society which has its income from permanent funds of large amount, and which is able to secure the refunding of all monies advanced, is just so far independent of public opinion. Should it abuse the confidence reposed in it, its power does not cease. It may, in defiance of the known wishes of the donors of these funds, employ them for the propagation of the most destructive opinions. In the case before us, if any one will take the trouble of calculating the income which may be derived from the reimbursements of the former beneficiaries of this Society, and from its permanent funds ; he will find that before many years are past,

it will have at its disposal an immense annual sum, which must flow into its hands, whatever may be the character, which the institution shall then sustain. We object to a system which renders the Society thus independent. We refer, for a contrast, to the American Home Missionary Society. This noble institution, as appears from the declaration of its friends and officers, and from its annual reports, has made it a sacred purpose to keep itself dependent on public approbation. If it forfeits this, it ceases to exist. If it becomes a party engine, it loses the support of all but its own partisans. But let the A. E. Society become a party engine, and it retains all its resources derived from its loans and permanent funds. If it be said, that this is equally true, of any and every Society throughout the land, we are not disposed to admit the correctness of the assertion. Compare, for a moment, the organization of the A. E. Society with that of the A. H. Missionary Society. The two features of electing by ballot its voting members, and its refunding system, will be seen to make an immense difference, as to the liability to perversion. Supposing that at any annual meeting of the A. H. Missionary Society, there should be a majority of members present, in favor of a party application of its funds and influence, what would be the consequence? Certainly not, that the Society was irretrievably lost. For such a party has no means of securing their ascendancy; and if they had, depending on annual contributions, they would lose the support of all who did not concur in their views. The case is evidently far different with the A. E. Society. Let any casual majority assembled at an annual meeting, though not constituting a fifth of the whole number of voting members, be agreed as to any particular application of the power of the Society, and it is entirely in their hands. They can bring in what number of members they please of similar views, and thus secure their ascendancy. Their income, however, derived from permanent funds and loans, continues to flow in undiminished. Will any man say there is no difference between these two cases? Let it be remembered that twenty constitute a quorum of the Society.* Then eleven men may be a controlling majority, who at any annual meeting may get this whole immense concern into their

* See Constitution, Art. XI.

own hands. Let it be further recollected, that the Directors are voting members of the Society, and are thirteen in number, and it will be seen, that it may easily happen, that the Board itself may constitute a commanding majority of the Society, though its members are scattered over twenty States and number three hundred and fifty. Can our author, or any one else, now say, that this Society is no more liable to perversion than any other Society throughout the world? We must repeat it, (that it may not be imagined that we acquiesce at all in the conclusiveness of our author's confident reply,) that all his arguments to show, that the Directors are accountable to the Society, are nothing to the point. The author himself, (p. 590.) seems to see that it is the power of the Society, and not merely of the Directors, to which we object. For he says, "The Reviewer is afraid of the immense power which the *Parent Society* will ultimately attain:" and yet he attempts to allay our fears, by saying that the Directors are accountable to the Society! And he further hopes and believes, that we will be so satisfied with such an answer, that we will withdraw even the insinuation of an objection. It is the Society itself, of which twenty members constitute a quorum, that we maintain is more liable to perversion than any Society in the whole country, with which we have the least acquaintance. "Can an imagination which is not heated, see any phantoms of a frightful aspect rising up out of such ground as this?" Our author would not, we presume, have ventured to ask this question, had he seen, at the time, our objection in its true light. At any rate, we are willing to admit, that our imaginations are heated enough to see such phantoms, and it will require some more potent spell than the foregoing article, to lay them. Look now, to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; one of the most noble institutions of this or of any other land, and one of all others affording perhaps the least temptation to abuse. They elect their own members; but have they thought proper to render themselves independent of public opinion? Their permanent funds are so insignificant, that they could hardly live a month, without the contributions of the Christian community.

If our author be disposed "to turn the tables," and ask how it is with the General Assembly, we would answer, that he entirely misconceives and consequently (from neces-

sity) misrepresents our former remarks on this subject. If the General Assembly were a permanent body, electing its own members, we should be as much opposed to its independence, as we are to that of the Society in question. But this is not the case. It is a transient body. It lives but a few weeks. It is changed every year. Hardly six individuals are in one, who were members of the preceding. If all the permanent funds, and all the influence of this body, were at the mercy of any casual majority, which might be found in any one Assembly, the church might well tremble for the consequence. An insignificant minority of the Presbyterian body, might then become the masters of all the institutions and funds endowed and collected by their pious fathers. Can any one pretend that the General Assembly would be as secure, were this its organization, as it is at present; the mere creature of the Presbyteries, and of necessity their representative? If not, then no one can pretend, that the funds of the A. E. Society are as secure as those of the latter body. It is not in our "Confession and Formulas of discipline and doctrine," as our author would seem to imagine, that we place our security. It is, under God, in the organization of the General Assembly, as a body elected by the church generally. It is utterly impossible that these funds should be perverted, until the church itself becomes corrupt. Whereas, unless we are utterly mistaken, (and if we are, let it be proved,) it is only necessary that a mere majority at an annual meeting of the A. E. Society, (which need not exceed twenty in number), should be, not absolutely heretical, but party men, such as good men often are, and the power of this institution is in their hands. We must think, therefore, that our author's declaration is exceedingly bold, "that the A. E. Society is no more liable to future dangers, than every Society and every Seminary in the country and throughout the world." Let the public compare its organization with that of any of the bodies mentioned above, and then judge. *Ἡ ἡμέρα δηλώσει.*

Our fourth objection to the loaning and refunding system is, the undue power which it puts into the hands of the Society.

Here let it be distinctly understood, that we are not speaking of the *use*, which the Society or its Board, have already made, or do now desire to make of their influence. Our ar-

gument is simply, that according to its present organization, and on its present plan, this Society must possess an influence over the destinies of the church, which no body of men ought to have. The beneficiaries and the Society here stand in the relation of debtors and creditors. The latter have, therefore, over the former, all the influence which results from this relation. They have that ascendancy over the mind, which it always gives, to a greater or less extent, according to individual character and circumstances. The Parent Society, by being the recipient of all monies repaid, and the holders of all the bonds which are given, are the main depositaries of this power. Now what is this power? It is the power of dictating to a large proportion of the pious youth of our country, in what Academy, College, or theological Seminary, they shall pursue their studies. It is the power of raising or depressing any institution throughout the land. It is the power of deciding, under what theological influence, our future ministers are to be formed. It is the power of holding and influencing these ministers, as bondmen, when they come out into the church. It is the power of saying, to some five or six or eight hundred Presbyterian ministers, (as before many years will be the case), do this, and we will cancel your bonds—do this, and you must pay them. This is a power, which we should deprecate in the hands of any set of men on earth. We should rebel against it in the hands of the General Assembly's Board, as soon and as decidedly as in those of the A. E. Society. It is what we never would submit to. We protest against this subjugation of the future ministry of the country, to any corporation, Presbyterian or Congregational. If any portion of our brethren are willing to bind themselves and their successors in such chains, we are not of the number. We are disposed to demand that our ministers should be free men; that they should come into the ministry unshackled. Nothing can ever reconcile us to a system which gives such power to any set of men, and we do not believe that the Christian public will bear it. We would, with all due deference, be **FREE**, and have our children free.

It cannot, as it seems to us, be denied that the A. E. Society has this power. We know that some of its officers, to a certain extent at least, admit it. But it is answered, that they will not abuse it, and all objections on this head are

set down to the score of "fears"! Our reply is, that admitting the present officers of the Society to be so high-minded and just, (and we are not disposed to call this in question,) as to permit this mighty engine to remain untouched; we ask, have we any reason, from the past or present history of the church, to believe that it will or can long continue thus unemployed? Are there not men now, and good men too, in all parts of the country, and of all kinds of opinion, who could bring themselves to believe it to be right, to use this power, -in promoting what they honestly think the truth; who would be glad to have, and to employ the power of saying, to half the candidates for the ministry in the country, study here or study there? We know not how it is elsewhere, but we see instances every day, in which this influence is exerted by Education Societies. We know that this is the fact, and we know that the use of power is so natural a result of the possession of it, that we are disposed to demur, when any set of men say to us, 'let us bind you hand and foot, we promise not to hurt you.'

When our author demands (p. 597) in substance, whether our young men and ministers are so destitute of moral rectitude and independence, as to allow themselves to be swayed by mere pecuniary considerations? it is enough to reply, that ministers are men, and that all experience shows that it is not necessary, that a man should be destitute of moral principle to be influenced by such motives. *The rich ruleth over the poor, and THE BORROWER IS SERVANT TO THE LENDER, Prov. xxii. 7.*

But the tables may again be turned, and the demand made, what will be the influence of the General Assembly's Board? We answer, on their plan next to nothing. They are not creditors. They retain no bonds in their hands. They send their students into the church unshackled. Were it otherwise, could this Board bring into the Assembly some forty or fifty men, who were their debtors; though the case would still be far different from that of the A. E. Society, the church never would submit to it. It should, however, be recollected, that though the Board of the Assembly stands to the Assembly itself, in the same relation that the Board of the A. E. Society, does to the Society, yet that Society holds a very different relation to the churches, from that sustained by the Assembly. The former perpe-

tuates itself, the latter is annually appointed. The power of the one may be obtained and secured by a diminutive minority of its own members; that of the other *must* remain with the majority of the whole church. But notwithstanding this plain and palpable difference between the two cases, we should protest against any such power being vested in the Assembly's Board. If it be asked, whether they cannot still exercise a controlling influence over all their young men, as to where their opinions and character are to be formed, we would again reply, that even if this were the fact, the difference would still be immense, between this case and that of the A. E. Society, on the ground just stated. But we go further, and say that we are opposed to any such organization, as would give that Board the power of directing the course of all the young men of the Presbyterian church; we wish to see this business left where it naturally belongs, to the several Presbyteries, to which these young men appertain.

We do not believe that any unprejudiced mind can contemplate this subject, without feeling the force of this objection; without being convinced, that there is a power concentrated in the A. E. Society, on its present plan, to which the churches ought not to submit. And let it be remarked, that this power results from its peculiar organization, and from the system of loans; and that neither of these features is essential to its influence, or usefulness. It might on the usual plan, pursue its elevated object, with the same efficiency, without endangering the purity and liberty of the church. It should also be remembered, that this power is of all others, most liable to perversion. It is not necessary, as before stated, that the majority of this Society should become Universalists or Socinians, to lead them to abuse the trust reposed in them. Let them feel and act, as many good men now do, and they will not hesitate to employ their influence in promoting their own views, whatever they may be. We would not trust a body of men in Philadelphia with this power, any sooner than a body in Boston. It is the principle to which we object, and which we believe to be utterly inconsistent with the best interests of the church.

There is another remark, which it may be proper to make. This Society is a national Society, striving to become such in fact, as well as in name. Were its object attained, it

would have the whole of the ~~un~~important business of forming the character of our ministers, in its power. The destinies of the whole church would be in their hands; in the hands of every majority of voting members of the A. E. Society assembled at any annual meeting. Is this right? Is this safe? Are the churches willing to deliver up their fate to any set of men in this manner? Let the theological Seminary at Princeton, as our author suggests, become corrupt. We have still Auburn, and Andover, and Hampden Sidney, and Pittsburgh, to pour forth their streams of pure and living truth. But let the A. E. Society, (should it ever be what it styles itself, the American Society,) become corrupt, and what have we left?

We have written with earnestness, because we have "a deep feeling" on this subject. But we have studiously avoided any imputation of motives. We have reasoned on principles; our arguments are on broad grounds; let them have their due force and no more; but do not let it be insinuated that our motives are party or sectarian. We have, indeed, no fear that this will be done, by any man of impartiality and candor.

Those of our readers, who in any measure concur in the views which we have advanced, will now see reason enough, why we chose to bring this subject before the churches. They will see and feel that it is a subject which ought not to be hushed up; that the churches have a right to know, what any of their members deem the inevitable consequences of an union with the A. E. Society on its present plan. They are free to act for themselves; but surely *they* are not to be blamed, who venture to reason with them, on a subject in which their dearest interests, and those of their children are involved. Our author says, that he believes, and may say he knows, that there are many, very many members of the Presbyterian church, who never will, and never can approve, either of our arguments or of the manner of bringing them forward. This may be. But we know that there are many *very many*, who approve of both. We are persuaded that our author and his friends, will find themselves disappointed, if they imagine that these are party objections, or peculiar to any one class of men.

We come now to the charge of misrepresentation and ignorance.

As we are charged with making "to popular feeling," an appeal, which has for its basis a view of facts altogether imperfect, and in many respects entirely erroneous;" (p. 600.) and as the charge of ignorance of the principles and proceedings of the A. E. Society, and of assertions at variance with facts, is repeated again and again in the Strictures,* it may be expected, that we should maintain the correctness of our former positions, or confess our errors, and return thanks for the information received.

To confess our errors, when clearly pointed out, is perfectly consistent with the spirit that dictated the remarks which have brought on us the above accusations. We had, and still have the fullest conviction, of the importance of the sacred end proposed to be attained—the education of indigent pious young men for the ministry of the Gospel. And it was with extreme reluctance we admitted the evidence, which the Constitution and Rules of said Society seemed to present, that the means adopted were likely to result in lasting injury to the cause intended to be advanced. Even now, unless we mistake our own feelings, we should be happy to retract whenever an error in the facts alleged, or in the conclusions drawn from them, is discovered, regardless of the manner or language employed to convince us of our mistakes. But unless we are greatly deceived, we cannot be schooled *ex cathedra* into the admission of facts not fully substantiated, and of reasonings not bringing conviction to our understanding. To some of the allegations, we have given our answer in the preceding remarks respecting the quarterly returns, and the system of loans. Two items, one under each of the heads just named, remain to be noticed.

Speaking of the Schedules, the author of the Strictures says, (p. 571.) "In this way the Directors come to the knowledge of facts which serve to meet assertions like that of the Reviewer, when he says that the aid afforded by the A. E. Society, is not sufficient to meet half the expense of an education in the cheapest College in the United States. The answer to this is, that it does not comport with *facts* thus disclosed." We regret that so much of these reports has not been published, as would inform us where these Colleges are to be found, which afford the advantages of an education on

* See pp. 572, 573, 574, 580, 593, 600.

terms so accommodating. It might have prevented us doing injustice to the A. E. Society, and it would be very useful to young men seeking an education on easy terms. All we wish to say is, that we are yet ignorant of any College where a young man can pay boarding, tuition, and other necessary expenses, and purchase clothing, with any thing like seventy-two dollars a year, and the profits of his own industry. We know cases where benevolent individuals have subscribed seventy-five dollars annually for seven years, in expectation of preparing a young man for the ministry with that sum. And such individuals have selected young men destitute of property and of friends able to aid them, have placed them in an Academy where the students labor part of the time for their own support; and before the year closed, the benefactors of such young men have been called on for pretty large additions to the allowance made by the Society to such students; and we venture to predict, that the same demand will, with just cause, be made in every stage of their preparatory course—that additional aid must be received from some source. We freely admit that some young men, in particular circumstances, do obtain an education with even less aid than that afforded by the A. E. Society. These are exceptions to the general rule, and ought not to be brought forward as proofs of what may be done by all young men, of a character suitable to enter the Gospel ministry. We have no objections to young men endeavoring to help themselves, and we would afford them every facility to do so. But with their best exertions, in ordinary cases, the sum given by the A. E. Society is too small. It is in vain the Society talk of giving their beneficiaries a complete education, if they are compelled to labor or teach school one half the time, in order to support themselves the other. Just look at the case. What is the clear annual gain of an industrious and economical mechanic, or teacher of a common school, or laborer, after maintaining himself? Not in ordinary cases more than fifty dollars, and often less; and yet a young man without a trade, is expected to support himself with the profits of industry in hours of relaxation from study. If their tuition be free, or they receive aid from other sources than their own industry, our argument is still valid.

In page 573, the author of the *Strictures* has given another specification of the “altogether imperfect and in some

respects entirely erroneous views," on which he conceives we build our conclusions. We had said, that the reasons for introducing the loaning system were two; and stated what they were, and endeavored to refute them. Our author alleges we have omitted an important reason given in the Eleventh Annual Report of the Society. Some would say we were not bound to give all the reasons for adopting the measure, but only those to which we object. But we disclaim such a reply, and simply say, we did think and do still think that it was from the *smallness* of the loan, and not from the *loan itself*, that the Directors anticipated a happy influence on the character of those they patronize. We will not waste words on this point, but refer our readers to the Eleventh Annual Report of the A. E. Society, and let them judge for themselves.

We proceed to consider another part of what our author calls, an examination of facts alleged in regard to the measures and principles of the A. E. Society. The subject is thus introduced: "But the Reviewer asks, What becomes of the monies when refunded? He goes on to aver that they are all returned to the treasury of the Parent Society; and that in consequence of such an arrangement, this Society will finally have an unlimited capital at their exclusive control. Add all the loans returned to the permanent funds and to the Scholarships, and he thinks in half a century a height of independence must be obtained, sufficient to make even good men's heads turn giddy." (p. 361.) In particular he suggests, that if all the Presbyterian churches in the United States were to become auxiliary to the A. E. Society, the monies refunded by all the beneficiaries as well as their annual surplus, must go to the Parent Board, and *be entirely beyond the reach of the Branches*," (p. 361.)

"I shall not take the liberty to impute any special design to the writer, in this appeal." "The correctness of the principles and the assertions, on which it is grounded, are proper subjects of examination," p. 580 and 581. We request our readers to remember what is proposed to be done—not to *impute any special design* to the writer; but to *examine the correctness of the principles and assertions on which this appeal is grounded*. In what way would a man of plain understanding suppose this examination would be conducted? Would he not suppose that the

assertions which lie at the bottom of the business, should first be shown to be false, and then the conclusion, or appeal, or whatever it may be called, would fall to the ground as a matter of course? But this method did not seem good to our author. He lets *the assertions* alone, and begins with telling us how anxious the Directors have been to secure the funds against perversion or monopoly—what means have been used to effect this object—who the men are that constitute the General Society—the number of members—in how many States they reside—why there are so few Presbyterians—where the Society originated—what originally constituted membership—when and why a change in obtaining membership was made. He goes on to tell us how much money was raised in N. England during the first ten years—how much in Massachusetts—how many members have been elected since the change in the constitution—how many in N. England—how few in Massachusetts—how many in the States of N. York, N. Jersey and Pennsylvania. And then asks, “Does this look like local partiality? Or is there any party ambition or purposes discoverable in this?” He then gives some important information to the Reviewer and his friends, and in order that they may not overlook it, underscores his words. He goes on to console Presbyterians with the hope that they will soon have a controlling influence in the A. E. Society. He then tells us the measures of the Directors are revised by the Society, and that the Board is elected only for one year. He then takes another view of the subject, and shows us another check imposed on the Board by means of the Branch Societies. Again, that the whole is so nicely organized, and the parts balanced by mutual checks, that it is “not unlike what the structure of our National Government exhibits.” And further, goes on commenting on the constitution of the Society two more pages. And finally, from the review of the constitution and principles of the Parent and Branch Societies draws his conclusion in these words—“it seems to me quite impossible, that any partial or party appropriations of monies, should be made by the Directors of the Parent Society,” &c. (p. 585.)

After he has persuaded himself, that funds to any amount are perfectly safe in the hands of his friends, and their successors, he admits every thing that the Reviewer *had asserted* respecting the monies refunded, and surplus funds going into

the treasury of the Parent Society. Now what has become of the *assertions* proposed to be examined? What has he said to invalidate *the averments*? After leading us to expect that some error would be pointed out, he has not condescended to give us one instance.

The object of the Reviewer in the article under consideration, was to show the stupendous power and even independence which the General Society, by means of loans returned, surplus and permanent funds and scholarships, might attain, if the scheme proceeded. And our author having spoken, in the commencement of his Strictures on this article, of assertions and averments, and led his readers to imagine some erroneous statement had been made, gives us a long dissertation on the constitution, with a view to show that the Directors must obey the will of a majority of the Society. This argument, as far as it has force, is applicable to the third objection, and not to that under consideration.

We say, the Society itself may become a party engine. and the Directors be the agents to execute the party purposes of a majority of the General Society.

Let it be noted, that the author of the Stricture does not deny or attempt to disprove the *assertions* of the Reviewer, respecting the power and independence of the Society. Indeed he could not. For as early as May 1827, soon after the connexion with the Presbyterian Branch was formed, the Directors, having spoken of the establishment of scholarships and increase of funds during the preceding year, exult in the prospect before them. "It has," say they, "not only saved the Society from great embarrassment and from more serious evils, *but has placed it upon a basis where with the common blessing of God, it will stand for ages to come, increasing in resources and influence.*" XI. Report, p. 14.

So confident are we that the merits of the question have not been fairly and fully met by our author, that we request the reader who doubts, to look at the review from the middle of p. 360 to the same part of p. 361. Let it be remembered too, that the power and independence of the Society are the grounds on which we apprehend danger. If the Society were not thus powerful and independent, the checks of which the author speaks would be amply sufficient. We ask no other security than he has given us, from a Society,

which is annually dependent for its support on the liberality of the public. But not so in regard to a Society, which has means to go on, if every individual, except its members, should raise a voice against it. The security arising from the mode of electing Directors, on which our author relies with so much confidence, we shall notice hereafter.

But it seems that after the requiem sung to our "fears" the author himself has some apprehensions lest the Branch Societies will not be fully satisfied. "If," says he, "for the sake of convenience, however, the General Society should adopt a plan, which would allow the monies *returned* within the limits of each Branch Society, to be paid into the treasury of such Society, this measure would remove even the semblance of the difficulty which the Reviewer suggests. The Directors, I have no doubt, will be disposed to adopt this, or any other arrangement which may promote the interests of the Society." p. 585.

We are gratified with this concession. It is worth all the attention we have given to the subject. And although we would not wish to press too far those who are disposed to be accommodating, we would suggest another arrangement, viz. that the monies refunded, as well as the surplus funds, be kept in the treasuries of the Branch Societies, until their own Directors dispose of them at their own discretion. It is possible the Branch Societies at no distant day, may think their own Directors competent to decide, if they have no beneficiaries within their limits, whether they should send their surplus funds to the East or to the West, to the North or to the South.

We now proceed to notice the security which our author thinks he finds in the mode of choosing Directors and Officers of the Society, and in the revision which the Society, at its annual meetings, exercises over all the acts of the Board.

We have given offence by saying that according to the mode of doing business at the annual meetings, the Directors might, if they pleased exert an influence in choosing new members and in the election of a new Board. Our author rebukes us for such an intimation, and that we might not again fall into a similar mistake, says "I repeat it, in order that neither the Reviewer nor his friends may overlook it; *The Directors neither nominate nor choose any of the elected members of the Society.*" (p. 582.)

Let the reader now turn to page 363, of our former article, he will there find these words, "Suppose that at any time, a majority of the acting members of the Society, is in favor of the measures adopted by the Directors, the Directors can, *through their friends*, have new voting members chosen favorable to the same course, &c." Do we here say that the Directors as such, either nominate or choose new members? Surely not. We say, that, from the nature of the case, they can, if so disposed, exert an influence in this business. Is this objection met by saying, and underscoring, that the Directors have no official right of appointing the new members? Our author, therefore, is mistaken when he says (p. 586,) that our objection to the influence of the Directors, "is built on misapprehension of the Constitution and Rules of the A. E. Society." Our objection is, in the first place, that the A. E. Society has a power of dangerous extent; in the second place, that the Directors, of necessity as the organs of the Society, hold and exercise this power; and that their accountability to the Society is no adequate security, because, besides other reasons elsewhere urged, they have the main direction of the Society itself, and can, if so disposed, influence the election of new members as well as the decision of other matters. We would appeal to the Minutes of the twelfth annual meeting held in city of New-York, May 8, 1828, to prove that in point of fact, the Directors have this influence.

The published Minute is as follows, viz. "The Rev. Dr. Porter of Andover, the Rev. Dr. Spring and Arthur Tappen Esq. of New-York were appointed a committee to *nominate* new members for admission into this Society." XII. Annual Report, p. 3. We have no fault to find with the worthy gentleman appointed on this *nominating* committee. We would rejoice if our country and the church had ten thousand such men. Nor do we find fault with the *nomination* made. Our simple object is, to account for our former error, in supposing there was nothing in the Constitution or mode of conducting the election of new members, to prevent the Directors, if they were so disposed, having some influence in the selection of voting members, who are to review the proceedings of the former Board, and to choose a new one.

In looking at the Minutes of the previous Annual meeting held in Boston, May 28, 1827, it will be seen that all the

gentlemen on the *nominating* committee, were Directors. XI. Report, p. 4. And from the Minutes of the meeting at which these *nominations* were made, it appears that the gentlemen on the *nominating* committee were re-elected Directors for the following year. We have not said and we do not now say that the nomination of new members is an official act of the Directors: but we do say the Directors have *de facto* an influence in nominating and choosing new members, who are to choose new Directors and to review the proceedings of those whose term of office has expired. Now what security have we that the Society will exercise a vigilant control over the proceedings of the Board of Directors? The checks as described by our author appeared admirable, rendering it almost impossible that the Directors can do amiss, without a speedy retribution; but now we see that the mode of conducting elections gives them a good opportunity to escape. Let us not be understood as suggesting, that there was any improper management in the transaction referred to. Positively we do not. We only mean to justify our former positions, and to show that we are not the only persons who write about important concerns without correct information.

But independent of such examples, which may be said to be casual, we maintain on general principles, that the Directors of all voluntary associations have, almost invariably, an influence in directing all the measures of the Societies to which they belong. They know the interests of the Society, whose concerns they manage, and it is natural, and in most cases proper, that members of the Society who are less acquainted with the details of the business, should pay great respect to the opinions and wishes of those actively engaged in the management of the concern. This is the fact in all voluntary Societies, of which we have any knowledge. And when there is no temptation to abuse, as is the case in other associations, no evils result, but many advantages.

But supposing the General Society can, and does exercise a vigilant control over the proceedings of the Directors, what is there to prevent a small majority of the Society, happening to be present at a single annual meeting, from creating, at a single ballot, voting members sufficient to maintain the ascendancy ever afterwards? All that our author says about the probability, that members of the Presbyterian church

will soon constitute a majority of the whole Society, does not in the least allay our "fears." There are, and may be other parties besides Congregational and Presbyterian. We fully agree with our author, that these are small matters; and we hope the day is far distant, when disputes on this subject will occasion any serious difficulties. We do not pretend to say, what will be the subject of dispute. We know there are many things, respecting which intelligent men, and good men do differ, and probably will hereafter differ. We do not pretend to say, what may give the line of division its direction. The probability that such a diversity of opinion will exist, is sufficient for our present purpose. And there is no subject on which jealousies are so likely to arise, as respecting the education of young men for the ministry of the Gospel. It is seen, that they will influence the opinions and doctrines of the churches, and therefore it becomes an object of intense interest, to every party man, that those he aids in educating, should be taught in his own school. The grace of God has never yet entirely extinguished these feelings; and even less matters have a tendency to create difficulties on this subject. We all have our local partialities, our social attachments, and our early associations; and we do not know that we would be better men, or better Christians, if we had not. It requires an effort, a constant effort, to prevent these feelings swaying us when great interests are at stake.

Now is it not probable, that from these, or other causes, parties will spring up in a Society extending over so large a territory, and embracing men, who agree in fundamental truths, but differ in smaller matters? The majority, it is true, decides every question at annual meetings; but they may decide on party grounds, and wield the immensely powerful engine in their hands, to put down their brethren who differ from them. In our voluntary associations, which are truly American, such as the Bible and Tract Societies, and Board of Foreign Missions, and some others, none of these difficulties exist, or at most in a very small degree. But in the case before us, they will operate, and we think we do not express ourselves too strongly, when we say no human hand can prevent so powerful an engine as the A. E. Society, from bearing on one party or another; and if it were in the hands of the Presbyterian church to-morrow, it would not change our opinion.

We are told, that in the management of every great con-

cern there must be power, and that power may be abused. That the officers of our national government may abuse the confidence reposed in them. True, but in the two cases there is this remarkable difference: The officers of the government are responsible to the people; the members of this Society are not responsible to the great body of the church. Our author has said, the organization of this Society is "not unlike what the structure of our national government exhibits." Here again we beg leave to differ. We conceive the resemblance would be more complete, if our national Constitution were so changed, that the existing members of Congress were authorized to choose their own co-members and successors, and to appoint the Executive, Heads of Departments, Judges, and all subordinate officers, and to leave the people the privilege of paying their taxes, and of being governed by the laws made and provided for them. If the change suggested were made in our national Constitution, the cases would be nearly parallel. The A. E. Society chooses its own co-members and successors, elects its Directors and officers, receives from the church its funds, and sends her such pastors as the Society and its Branches choose to educate. It may be said, the Presbyteries, Associations, and Councils, may refuse to ordain them. True; but where can they find means of educating any other, as the funds necessary for this purpose are all thrown into one great channel? Will it be said, that the voting members of the Society bear a greater proportion to the church, than the members of Congress do to the people?—Very true. But when we consider that the attendance of the members of Congress is better than that of the Society, and that twenty members are a quorum to do business, the difference is not so great as appears at first view.

Our determination, when we first cast our eyes on our author's second general head of "fears," was simply to say—Remove the dangers which the Reviewer has pointed out, and his fears will subside as a natural consequence. But on examining the contents of this division of the subject, we noticed many things which caused the most deep and poignant regret. We noticed what indeed might be called "sounding the tocsin of alarm, and appealing to popular feeling and party prejudice." We could not persuade ourselves that a writer of our author's distinguished acuteness and ability, would permit himself to make this outcry, unless some pal-

pable cause had been given by the Reviewer. On looking at the detached extracts, selected as the ground of his remarks, there appeared to be some foundation for the appeal which followed.

On the other hand, from our personal knowledge of the views and feelings of the Reviewer, confident that he had never taken an active part in the disputes that have sometimes arisen on these subjects, and believing, that although a Presbyterian, he felt no jealousies or ill will towards his Congregational brethren, we could not persuade ourselves that he had said any thing designed to cherish these sectional and sectarian feelings. With a view to satisfy ourselves on the subject, we carefully examined the portions of the review here complained of, and we became convinced, that whatever may be the appearance of the passages quoted, viewed in a detached state, they do not in their connection justify the inferences which our author deduces. Yet we do not accuse him of intentional error; and if the publication were again to be made, we would not exclude a single sentence already uttered; but we would add something calculated to prevent misapprehension of our views and feelings. We would say, as we have said in another part of these remarks, that we would be unwilling to see the power possessed by the A. E. Society, in the hands of Presbyterians or any other body of men. *That we would protest and rebel against it, in whatever hands it may be lodged.*

We deeply regret this omission, because we are persuaded it would have saved the author of the *Strictures* the pain he evidently felt on the occasion; and us the pain of reading remarks of no common severity, and in our opinion, of no small injurious tendency.

With regard to our author's remarks on page 599, we choose to be silent. Had we been at liberty to exercise our judgment, we would, for his sake, have cancelled that page entirely. As it is, it must go; but we do not wish to aggravate the feelings it will too justly excite.

We most fully and cordially agree with our author in the following principles, viz: "*To trust in God and do our duty*, is the only ground of hope that we have or can have, or that we need have in regard to time future." But here again we differ widely, as will be seen from the tenor of the preceding remarks, in the application of this principle to the case before us. The author's mode of carrying this prin-

ciple into effect, is to accumulate large permanent funds, to establish numerous Scholarships, and to secure the return of the monies expended into the treasury, and to *trust in God* to keep those who are to manage this concern, for ages to come, faithful in employing the means already provided, to educate indigent pious young men for the ministry of the Gospel. Our mode of carrying the same principle into effect is, to collect all the money which the Christian public is able and willing to give for the purpose, to expend it immediately in educating youth of suitable character, who cannot get an education without such aid, and to send them forth as soon as possible; (for they are all now wanted), and to *trust in God our Saviour* to be with them, according to his promise, to make their labors successful in converting sinners, hoping that by thus increasing the number of the friends of the Lord Jesus, to gain more efficient strength than if we had now a million of dollars, bearing compound interest until the end of the world. *We trust in God*, that as nations and individuals are converted to God by means of those we send to preach salvation, they will lend a helping hand, and that the impression will be indelibly fixed on the minds of each succeeding generation of Christians, that the cause of Christ is in their hands; that they must work, and not rely on the funds left by their predecessors to convert the world. The author of the Strictures has given us a homily on the evils of riches, and the blessings of poverty, to a young man. We think he might also have given us an instructive lesson, confirmed by the experience of past ages, on the dangers of large funds laid up for sacred purposes.

We confess, that after all our kind friend has said to sooth our minds, we have still "fears;" and if we may judge from words and actions, we would venture to say, our author has also "fears." But our fears arise from different causes. He seems to fear lest Christians of the next and following generations, will not be liberal; that the treasury of the Lord will be empty; and therefore he wishes to provide an accumulating fund to supply the deficiency, in case the Lord should not give future Christians benevolent hearts and liberal hands. We fear for this simple reason, lest the treasures of the A. E. Society, like the manna which the Israelites, who were unwilling to *trust the Lord* for their daily bread, hoarded up, should become corrupt. *Exod. xvi. 20.*

These are our general views on this subject. That there

are particular cases, in which it may be wise and necessary to establish permanent funds, we are ready to admit. The only question is, whether this is the case with regard to the A. E. Society. We think not, for the reasons already stated in a former part of these remarks. The organization of this Society is such, that such funds would be peculiarly liable to perversion. They are in the hands, as before remarked, of every casual majority at any annual meeting. The temptation to abuse the trust, also, is peculiarly strong; ten fold greater than in any mere literary institution, or even theological Seminary. This Society, were its views and wishes realized, could sway the church nearly at will, and mould our ministry at pleasure. The influence which it already possesses, it is next to impossible not to exercise. We know that it is exercised by the friends and officers of its tributaries and branches; and that too, decidedly and actively. We are willing, that every man should employ his influence to promote his own views. But we are not willing to see funds and power collected and concentrated, to be used by we know not who, and for purposes it may be, and in all probability will be, hostile to the wishes of the donors of these funds, and givers of this power. We know not any one Society, in whose hands permanent funds would be so unsafe. Not from the character of its members, but from the nature of its organization, and the extent and character of its influence. These are our deliberate convictions, and it is our right and duty to express them.

The question, therefore, whether in any particular case, permanent funds are desirable, depends upon a variety of circumstances, and no general sweeping rule can be given. Our author's *argumentum ad hominem* on this subject, we do not feel, (p. 595). Admitting that there are some theological Seminaries, whose organization is peculiarly insecure, it does not prove that all are so. Besides, there is a vast difference, between an institution under a body, which *must* take its character, from that of the great majority of the Presbyterian Church; and a Society which *eleven* party men may seize and maintain; and which possesses a power, presenting the strongest possible temptation to abuse. All that our author has said on the insufficiency of creeds and confessions to secure the General Assembly, is very wide of the mark. We pretend to believe in no magic potency in such formularies; nor do we maintain that the whole church

in America may not, as our author suggests, become corrupt. But we are not to be blinded by such general declamation, to the difference between the cases before us. Our author refers us to the case of the church of Scotland. We are willing to take the reference. Such is its organization, that truth and piety have retained a firmer hold upon that church, than any other in Europe. When the general blight of infidelity and indifference past over the old world, it suffered less than any other. If its judicatories assumed, for a time, the lax character of the age; the revival of truth and piety was felt in them, as soon as it was in the churches themselves. And this is the great advantage of having societies and institutions so organized, that they are open to the influence of the churches generally. When this is the case, they are latest in feeling the influence of spreading corruption, and derive the benefit of any change for the better. But in the case of the A. E. Society, which the Author obscures by general remarks on the insecurity of worldly affairs, there is no necessity of the prevalence of any general corruption, for its becoming a party engine. We humbly conceive that there is some difference between *eleven*, (which may be a commanding majority in the A. E. Society,) and the great body of the churches. Besides, let it be considered, that it is not down right heresy alone, which would produce the evil. This we have before remarked. Our author, therefore, is greatly mistaken in supposing, that we knew not what we were about; that we unconsciously proceeded upon the assumption, that Congregationalists were heretics, and had the design of breaking down the Presbyterian church. This is no controversy between Congregationalists and Presbyterians. It is a question, whether the A. E. Society shall have the power to govern the church? Whether we are willing to submit, without a murmur, to their direction; and resign ourselves with passive confidence into their hands, on their simple assurance that they never have, and never will abuse their power? We do really hope and believe, that when our author comes to review his answer on this subject, he will feel it has not touched the point. And we believe also, that the churches are not to be blinded by any such general appeal, as that in which our author has here indulged. We as Presbyterians have no jealousies about the Congregationalists as such. We are willing and desirous of living and acting with them, in

peace and brotherhood. But we are not to be governed by them: nor by the A. E. Society, even should it, as the author predicts, become a Presbyterian institution. We should be as little willing to submit to it then, as now.

We are sincerely sorry, that we feel constrained to assume the character of opposers of any benevolent association. Nothing but a deep and pressing sense of duty, could constrain us to take such a step. But we feel convinced, more now than ever, that the organization and principles of this Society threaten the church with a vassalage, which we are bound to resist. Were it confined to New England, we should have remained silent. But when we see, within our own borders, a Society, acting upon principles, which we deem of serious and lasting evil tendency, and attaining a power over our ministers and churches, which no set of men on earth ought to possess, it would be treason to ourselves and to the cause of our Master, not to speak. Our author has answered no one of our objections; he has not even weakened their force. He will, therefore, be sadly disappointed in his expectation, that we would entirely withdraw them. We have no disposition to dictate to others. Let the Christian public read, and act for themselves. If they view this whole subject in a different light from that in which it strikes our minds; then let them patronize the A. E. Society, but if they think with us, let them secure themselves against the evils to which we have referred, or withdraw from it their confidence. We rejoice in the assurance, that the Lord reigneth. He will overrule all things to the good of his cause. Fully conscious of the purity of our motives, and convinced of the justness and weight of our objections, we cannot regret the course which we have taken.

If there is any thing in our remarks, which "bears hardly" on our author; we hope he will consider that "it results from necessity, not from choice." We were obliged to show how far his arguments were from reaching the point, and how little we were disposed to take dicta for proof.

As to the mere mode of reference to the distinguished gentleman, who wrote the article on which we have remarked, we would state, that the request to have his name attached to it, was received after two thirds of our reply was written, and part of it in the printer's hands.

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